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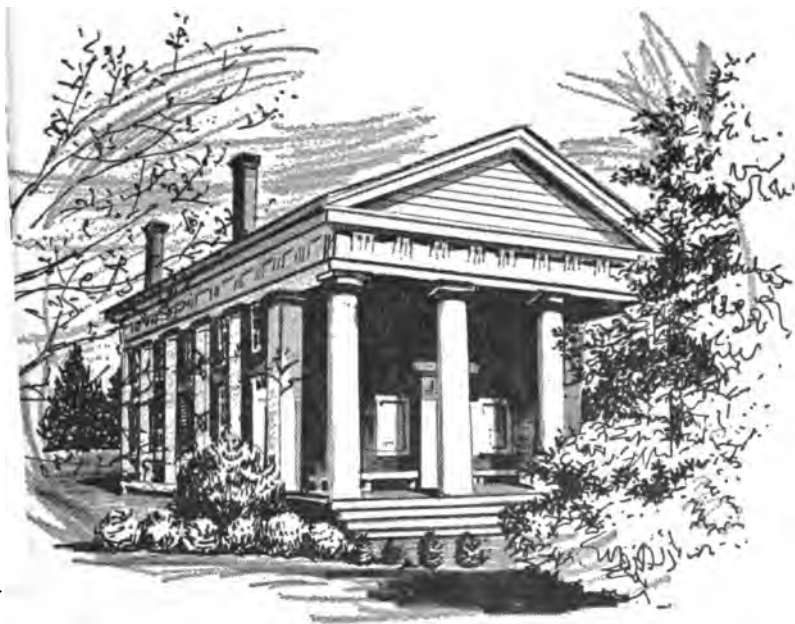


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The Bulletin of the
FLUVANNA COUNTY
Historical Society

NUMBER 1

SEPTEMBER 1965



COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

Built in 1830

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Lafayette's Visit To Fluvanna County

November 3, 1824

General Lafayette arrived in New York in August 1824 to begin his visit as a guest of the nation. He was then 67 years old. He had been just twenty when he first came to this country, the Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, offering his services to General Washington to help secure the independence of the new country. His youth and charm attracted General Washington to him, and his valor and leadership as a soldier won the General's admiration. The young man whom the British contemptuously called "the boy" dared to defy Cornwallis, Tarleton and other British veterans. While his compatriots, under the leadership of De Grasse, were successfully blocking the harbor at Yorktown, he was in the battle on land that resulted in the defeat of the British, and the end of the Revolution. He was completely devoted to Washington, who loved him as a son. Now, with his own son George Washington Lafayette, he had returned to visit the country whose independence he had helped to secure.

After a visit in New York and through the New England states, Lafayette arrived in Washington and was received in the Oval Room of the White House by President Monroe on October 12, 1824. A few days later he embarked on a steamboat in Alexandria to go to Mount Vernon to pay his respects at the grave of George Washington. He was accompanied on this trip by George Washington Parke Custis, Washington's step-grandson, who was the father of Mrs. R. E. Lee. At the grave of Washington, G. W. P. Custis presented General Lafayette with a ring containing a lock of Washington's hair. The general said, upon receiving the gift: "The feelings which at this awful moment oppress my heart do not leave me the power of utterance. I can only thank you, my dear Custis, for your precious gift, and pay a silent homage to the tomb of the greatest and best of men, my paternal friend."

Lafayette is described as being at this time "a man of extraordinary attractions; in face, much changed within thirty years. His complexion, originally clear and white, is now sunburnt; his forehead, which is very high, is covered very low with a wig; but it is still most attractive. So much

sweetness and modesty are blended with steadiness of purpose and loftiness of sentiment. He appeared in the ordinary dress of a citizen, black coat and pantaloons, and white vest; five feet ten inches high, and limps a little as he walks. All that he says and does is distinguished by a singular taste and good sense. He never seems for a moment to overstep the modesty of nature. All is fit—all is happy."

Lafayette continued down the Potomac in the steamboat from Mount Vernon and arrived at Yorktown for the celebration on October 19th, the anniversary of the surrender in 1781. This celebration, including parades, ship bombardments, banquets, transparencies and fireworks, was more spectacular than anything most of us have experienced in our generation. One of the features of the celebration was a breakfast in the tent of General Washington with the old comrades who had fought in the Revolution. In all his travels, the meetings with the old soldiers seemed to touch Lafayette most. General John Hartwell Cocke met him at Yorktown, where the invitation to visit in Fluvanna County was extended.

After Yorktown came the visit to Richmond. Then on toward Monticello for a visit of two weeks with his good friend, Mr. Jefferson. And since Fluvanna County was on the way to Monticello, its people were fortunate enough to have a visit from the great hero also.

So it was that on the third day of November 1824 General Cocke and the Rev. Walker Timberlake, and a company of fifty or sixty gentlemen, well-mounted and in uniform dress, formed an escort for the General through the county. The company, under the orders of Captain John G. Miller, had assembled at Columbia to await the arrival of the guest and conduct him to Wilmington.

At half after 2 o'clock the General arrived at Columbia attended by the Committee of Arrangement from Goochland and escorted by a handsome troop of cavalry under the command of Captain Ferguson. He was met by General Cocke and the Rev. Mr. Timberlake, who conducted him, his suite and companions to the door of the tavern, where John G. Miller was introduced and made to him an address which I quote in part:

"GENERAL LAFAYETTE: We are deputed by the citizens of the county of Fluvanna to meet you here, sir,

and conduct you to the place at which, you have been so kind as to say, you will partake of a homely but hospitable entertainment which they have cheerfully and diligently provided for you. We are charged by them, sir, to greet you on this occasion with a warm and hearty welcome, to tender their sincere congratulations upon your restoration to a people who owe you so much, and who are always ready to avail themselves of every opportunity to pay a debt, which yet they feel can never be extinguished and to assure you of the pleasure which it gives them to hear that you come to them in health and comfort, and as they confidently hope, in the full enjoyment of that large share of happiness which they believe to have been so justly merited by a long life of unerring virtue and rectitude of conduct."

Captain Miller then spoke to him of the recollections of the past generation: "We have heard with rapture from their lips the tale of noble daring and lofty spirit of high emprise that distinguished the young and gallant Marquis when he took the cause of strangers and of freedom against a mighty and a fearful foe. Most of our progenitors, sir, are gone to the world of spirits—those mighty men of valour who followed you so often to the field of death and turned not their backs in the day of battle, with few exceptions, meet you here no more. But they have left us a rich inheritance of liberty, and (as intimately allied to it) the sentiment towards yourself which I have endeavored to describe. . . . The independence and happiness which everywhere awaits your observation, is in an eminent degree ascribable to your own magnanimous efforts in our behalf—the influence of your own powerful arm and liberal treasures".

To this address the General replied, in substance, as follows: "I am much gratified, sir, by the attentions which the people of Fluvanna County have been pleased to bestow upon me. Among all the receptions with which I have been honored since I have been in this country, so dear to my heart, none has given me more real gratification than the kind, friendly and hospitable reception which I meet with from the citizens of Fluvanna. You are pleased to advert to my services to your country in the hour of her struggle—I have only to beg of you, take care of the liberty which your fathers have secured to you. Most of them, as you say, are gone. Whatever may become of those who remain of

us, take care of your liberty. Accept my thanks, sir, and tender the expression of my gratitude to your fellow-citizens."

The General was then conducted into the tavern where a handsome meal had been prepared for him, his companions, and the committee from Goochland, by order of the Committee of Arrangement of Fluvanna. Mrs. Lee, who arranged for the refreshments on this occasion, received much commendation for the abundant, neat and tasty banquet she had provided on only two days' notice. While in Columbia, Lafayette, with his escort, was entertained with music by Mrs. Anna Payne, who was considered a fine pianist. She was a great-great aunt of Miss Marion and Miss Frances Sadler of Wilmington, and also of Miss Virginia Gay of Richmond. The latter still owns the piano used by Mrs. Payne.

The party having been refreshed and many citizens, male and female, from the adjacent counties having been introduced, at half after three o'clock the General and his attendants set off for Wilmington. The procession reached Wilmington at 35 minutes after 4 o'clock. The carriage in which the General rode was drawn by stallions of the true English Hunter breed and on this occasion they acquitted themselves in a manner worthy of their ancestry, accomplishing a distance of more than nine miles in an hour and five minutes. The carriage used belonged to General Cocke. It has since been given to Stratford, the home of Robert E. Lee, by Mrs. Forney Johnston, a great grand-daughter of General Cocke. It had been used by General and Mrs. Lee, after the War, when they lived at "Derwent" in Cumberland County, a residence lent to them by Mrs. Elizabeth Randolph Cocke of Cumberland County.

Miss Frances Sadler remembers her grandfather, Constantine Perkins, telling her about what he remembered of the occasion I have described. He was a boy of seven at the time of Lafayette's visit. His father, Col. Joseph Stephen Perkins, was one of those who escorted Lafayette from Columbia to Wilmington. When he left his home at Kents Store that morning, he had taken his son, Constantine, up on the saddle with him, and had brought him to Wilmington where he left him with Constantine's uncle, Joseph Shepherd, who ran a store there. This store was near the large brick

house that was built in 1822 by Joseph Currin as a tavern to accommodate the stagecoach trade. The store was on the same side of the road as the house, and the stable for the stagecoach horses was across the road from it. The boy Constantine, watching the procession from his uncle's store, was impressed by the sheets of mud and water that dripped from the carriage wheels, by the procession of guests that arrived, and by the sight of the ladies, dressed in their finest dresses, being assisted or lifted down gently as they tried to avoid the muddy road. This was November, remember. The sword which Col. Joseph Stephen Perkins carried on this occasion is still in the family, owned now by his great-great-grandson, Philip Robinson Sadler.

Mr. Horatio Bigelow, writing about Currin's house, commented: "A large room in the basement served as a bar where a noggin of rum could refresh the weary traveller and clear the dust from his throat. The dining room adjoining furnished added cheer and warmth with its huge fireplace which handled six foot logs. Above the bar was the parlor lighted by six large windows of eighteen panes each. Here, the story runs, one owner told a lass of tender years whom he urged to become his second bride, 'that all she would have to do would be to sit and watch the great go by.'" James Currin was Sheriff of the county at that time. A notation in the Minute Book of the Court, dated May 24, 1824, says, "James Currin, Sheriff of this county, objects to the sufficiency of the Gaol." He was appointed superintendent to erect a new one, and a Court House also.

Wilmington has several points of historical interest. Not only does it have the two historic houses, Cole's Tavern and Wilmington House, but it is the site of the first post office in the county. The former post office still stands and is in reasonably good condition, though it is no longer being used as a post office. The post office at Stage Junction, a few miles down the road toward Columbia, is not quite as old as the one at Wilmington, but it still occupies the original building. It is one of the oldest buildings in the country that is still used for its original purpose. It is also the only post office in the United States with the name of Stage Junction. In 1924, when Mr. Henry C. Sadler was postmaster at Wilmington, a commemorative envelope was issued in honor of the anniversary of Lafayette's visit. It

bore this legend: "It was here at Cole's Tavern that Lafayette was entertained by forty Revolutionary soldiers."

The first Baptist organization in the county built a church at Wilmington. This was Lyles Church, whose covenant is dated 1770. Goshen Church was later organized at a place which is now part of Cole's Tavern Farm.

It was at Cole's Tavern that Lafayette was received when he arrived in Wilmington. This handsome old weather-boarded house, probably built in pre-Revolutionary times, was then owned by Horatio Wills. The Minute Book, in an entry dated May 24, 1824, states that "Horatio Wills, having paid a Tax of \$18 for a License to keep an ordinary at his own home, the said Horatio Wills being a man of good character and not addicted to drunkenness or gaming, and it being our opinion that he will keep an orderly and useful house of entertainment, a License was granted him accordingly."

I quote the following excerpts from the speech delivered by John Timberlake, Jr. in welcoming Lafayette to Wilmington:

"GENERAL LAFAYETTE:

In behalf of the citizens of this county, and especially of these here assembled with glowing hearts, to welcome your visit to our county, I have the honour to tender you the expression of their heartfelt joy for your return to, and arrival in these United States. On the first notice of your having set your feet on American soil, the hearts of this immense community were thrilled with emotions of awakened love, respect and gratitude towards you: And permit us to say that the citizens of this county participate largely in those sentiments; and equally so in the intense anxiety which so universally prevails, to receive, to welcome and to honour you as the nation's best friend in the hour of her deepest distress and greatest need; and in the sincerity of our hearts, we beg to be permitted to welcome and to hail you as the benefactor of our country and the friend of man. It were useless to recite in detail the peculiar circumstances under which you so gallantly quit your native land and flew to the aid of this then infant country; in the darkest and most perilous hour of her struggle for liberty and independence; or to dwell upon the infinite value of the services, which you,

as the companion in arms of the illustrious leader of our armies and the father of his country, then rendered us in bringing to a happy issue that unequal contest with a gigantic foe. . . . Yes, General, when the names of the principal actors in that eventful struggle and in those 'times which tried men's souls' shall cease to be remembered and revered, then indeed, will true liberty cease to have a friend on this globe. . . . Accept, dear General, the further tender of our sincere wishes that your future life may be as blissful as the past has been virtuous and noble."

To this address the General made a warm and feeling reply, full of expressions of gratification and thanks for the attentions paid him by the people. He was conducted to chambers prepared for his accommodation, passing between two lines of citizens extending from the house a distance of a hundred yards into the open ground in front of it. All of them respectfully saluted him, some with an ardor and sensibility highly honorable to the best feeling of the human heart. These lines of citizens were terminated at the door by upwards of thirty revolutionary soldiers, many of whom had served under Lafayette throughout his Virginia campaign and in other parts of America. They had been invited by the Committee of Arrangement to meet their old General on this occasion. These old veterans were individually introduced, and a scene ensued which filled the bosoms of hundreds of younger men who stood around, with ardent and intense emotion; the quick, close grasp, the reluctant yielding of the hand, the swimming eye which had not, perhaps, been moistened for years, the tears that flowed freely down the furrowed face, the earnest prayers to heaven for a continuance of its smiles upon a great benefactor—these incidents themselves spoke in melting tones to the stoutest heart. But they cannot be described. General Lafayette having, with his suite, partaken of suitable refreshments, was conducted to the drawing room, in which he found a large assemblage of ladies, to each of whom he was introduced. Here he seemed, indeed, delighting and delighted, but the scene was of too short a duration. When dinner was said to be ready and Lafayette was about to separate from his female friends, his attention was arrested by the first words of the following valedictory lines, composed for the occasion by Mrs. Cary, and sung by several ladies with fine effect:

Tune—TAMWORTH, a Sacred Piece

Hear us! Hear us; e'er, then leave us,
Take our lingering, long farewell;
Thou who erst did'st aid to give us,
All the joys we now can tell.

Veteran hero! Friend of freedom!

In our hearts, thou'lt ever dwell.
May the richest boon of heaven,
Pay thee for the good thou'st done;
And to us may it be given,
To behold thy setting sun,

Veteran hero! Friend of freedom!

Taste the fruits thy valour won.
Leave no more these peerless mountains,
Every hearth's a home for thee;
All these plains, these chrystal fountains,
All, are fraught with Liberty.

Veteran hero! Friend of freedom!

Rest thee with the brave and free.
But if thou hast left behind thee,
Ties too tender thus to tear;
Let these grateful tears remind thee
That our prayers are with thee there.

Veteran hero! Friend of Freedom!

May thy downward path be fair.

The old General's eyes were observed to fill with tears as he courteously and repeatedly tendered his earnest thanks to the ladies for the honors which they did him. At half past 5 o'clock, a company of more than one hundred and twenty persons sat down to the dinner table. This was in the orchard to the west of the house, where there are still a few fruit trees. Mr. Horatio Wills arranged for this entertainment. Everything the country affords was furnished in abundance, and served up in a style and manner entirely satisfactory. Mr. C. O. Perkins told his granddaughter, Miss Frances Sadler, that the forty or so Fluvanna veterans of the Revolution gave the dinner for Lafayette. The General appeared to be in fine health and spirits, and imparted good humour, joy and gladness to all around him. General Cocke presided, assisted by John G. Miller and John Timberlake, Jr.

After the company had dined came the toasts! And they

were many, about thirty-seven of them recorded. Here are a few:

"The American Revolution—the sun in the firmament of history."

"George Washington."

"Thomas Jefferson—the lamp that lighted our land to liberty and glory—it burns bright to the socket." (Upon hearing this sentiment, Lafayette expressed much gratification and delight.)

"The 19th day of April, 1777, he (Lafayette) came
The young, the brave, the free,
To fight for stranger's liberty."

The General having expressed his thanks to the company gave these toasts:

"The County of Fluvanna and Mechunk Creek—where upper and lower Virginians rendezvoused to show the enemy the road to Yorktown."

"The French people—brave, generous and enlightened—they deserve to be happy."

"The republics of South America—they have won their liberty with the price of blood—may they use it wisely."

The set toasts having been drunk, General Lafayette attended by the Committee of Arrangement retired to his chamber, Then John G. Miller was invited to preside and George Stillman, Esq. to act as Vice President, and many more toasts were given by other prominent citizens: Col. Barret G. Payne, George M. Payne, Esq., Colonel Strange, Capt. Peter Guerrant, Dr. Wills, Dr. Jones, Captain Pettit, Mr. W. M. Cary, Mr. W. Key, and Mr. H. Wills.

In the course of the evening "Lafayette in Fluvanna," a song to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne" was sung by many of the company with much animation and spirit.

Much of this material is from "The Richmond Enquirer," edition of Nov. 12, 1824, which carried a detailed account of Lafayette's visit to the county. The article does not mention the ball held on the evening of Nov. 3rd at Wilmington House, but that such a ball took place is a tradition that has been handed down for generations by word of mouth.

Mrs. Kate McGehee, a Fluvanna resident for many years, has a more-than-average interest in Lafayette. Her great-

great-grandfather was the celebrated hero of the Revolution, Peter Francisco, "The Giant from Virginia", noted for his great strength. It was at Brandywine, where Lafayette first saw service, that he and Peter Francisco were both injured. These two young soldiers, twenty and sixteen years old respectively, were nursed back to health in a Quaker home in Pennsylvania. Then and there a strong friendship was formed between the Marquis and the private soldier—a friendship which endured through the Revolution and was never broken. Peter Francisco was present when the surrender at Yorktown took place and he made a trip to Richmond with Lafayette soon thereafter. He was with Lafayette, passing St. John's Church, when he met the girl he later married. In fact, he caught her as she tripped and would have fallen but for his arm thrust out to catch her. Lafayette, seeing Francisco's longing glance at the fair girl, said laughingly, "Peter, promise me to give my name to one of your descendants, whether the eyes be blue like hers or black like yours." "Yes" answered Francisco, "Unless me she doth deny." And true to his word, his first son was named Robert Lafayette.

In 1824 when Lafayette came to Richmond, Francisco set out on horseback to meet his old friend and there in Richmond they greeted each other with an affectionate embrace. By request of General Lafayette, his old comrade in arms was made one of his special escort for the entire trip. He was present when the ship "Brandywine" was ready to set sail for France, carrying Lafayette back home.

But to get back to Wilmington—General Lafayette, his suite and companions, set out on Tuesday morning, November 4th, a few minutes before 10 o'clock, accompanied by General Cocke, Colonel Cary, Colonel Strange, Captain Winn, Captain Magruder, Dr. Wills, Dr. Miller, Dr. Lewis, and Mr. George Stillman of the Committee. He was escorted also by the company of gentlemen which had attended him from Columbia, and arrived at Mrs. Boyd's in Albemarle, a distance of sixteen miles, a little after 12 o'clock. Here he took an affectionate and affecting farewell of his Fluvanna friends and set off for Monticello attended by a Committee from Albemarle and the Albemarle company of Fayette Guards. He was followed by the good wishes of everyone he left behind and by prayers for his health and happiness. To quote

"The Richmond Enquirer", "The presence of La Fayette among us has afforded a season of unbounded joy—the liveliest affections of the breast awakened—all the spirits high and buoyant—patriotism and friendship and gratitude on tiptoe. The time passed away as on the wings of the morning—but many years will not remove the impressions which remain."

Lafayette's two-week visit to his dear friend Jefferson was probably the happiest and most restful part of his visit to this country. James Madison was a frequent companion at Monticello. Lafayette continued his journey through Gordonsville, Orange and Fredericksburg, and reached Washington again about November 22nd. He stayed there until after George Washington's birthday, then started the "triumphal" tour through the South. After that, he journeyed through Pennsylvania and had some rugged travel in the Western states, including a shipwreck on the Ohio river on May 8th. He was in Boston on June 17th for the Bunker Hill Anniversary, where there was an address by Daniel Webster. He continued as far as Maine, then back to New York, Philadelphia and Washington. He visited Jefferson and Madison again in August 1825.

On September 7th, when he left Washington, a general holiday was declared. He embarked on the steamship "Mount Vernon" and was accompanied to the frigate "Brandywine" by the Secretary of the Navy and a committee. As the steamship descended the Potomac with the General and his escort, Lafayette waved a farewell to the home of Washington. On September 9th he boarded the "Brandywine" for the voyage back to France.

In all the accounts of his tour of this country, including his visit to Fluvanna, what impresses the reader most is what a vital and present and glorious thing their liberty and independence was to these people, who had not many years before fought and died to win it. As Lafayette said in Wilmington, "I have only to beg of you, take care of the liberty which your fathers have secured to you. Most of them, as you say, are gone. Whatever may become of those who remain of us—take care of your liberty."

Nancy Bercaw

MRS. LEE'S VISIT TO BREMO

November 1865

One hundred years ago this November, the private canal-boat of Colonel Ellis, president of the James River and Kanawha Canal Company, stopped at the canal landing of Bremono plantation, the seat of Dr. Cary Charles Cocke. The boat was carrying a most important passenger, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, who was making one of her last visits to the Cocke family at "Bremono," on her way to join General Lee in Lexington. The General, two months previously, had accepted the Presidency of Washington College.

Colonel Ellis's boat had enabled Mrs. Lee to reach Bremono with great ease and comfort. "It was", wrote R. E. Lee, Jr. afterwards, "well fitted up with sleeping accommodations, carried a cook, and had a dining-room. It corresponded to the private car of the present railroad magnate, and, though not so sumptuous, was more roomy and comfortable. When provisions were scarce we purchased fresh supplies from any farm-house near the canal-bank, tied up at night, and made about four miles an hour during the day. It was slow but sure and no mode of travel, even at the present day, could have suited my mother better. She was a great invalid from rheumatism, and had to be lifted whenever she moved. When put in her wheel-chair she could propel herself on a level floor, or could move about her room very slowly and with great difficulty on her crutches, but she was always bright, sunny-tempered, and uncomplaining, constantly occupied with her books, letters, knitting, and painting, for the last of which she had great talent".

It was in the first week of November that Mrs. Lee, her son, Rob, and her daughters Mildred and Agnes, and perhaps the pet chickens, arrived at Bremono. The General had previously written to Mildred: "I do not know what you will do with your chickens, unless you take them to Bremono, and thus bring them here. I suppose Robert would not eat Laura Chilton and Dofia Ella McKay; still less would he devour his sister Mildred".

Mrs. Lee, on this trip, in returning to the house where she had visited before, was returning also to *her* room (known even now, as Mrs. Lee's room), and to *her* bed. For Dr. Cocke, some years earlier had had made for her a bed es-

pecially designed for her convenience. And it was here at Brema that, during the war, Mrs. Lee had found some degree of peace and solace. A nostalgic reference to war-time visits by Mrs. Lee to Brema is contained in the following interesting letter written by her to Dr. Arthur Lee Brent, the owner of Brema Recess, shortly after the end of the war:

"Richmond, Virginia, May 30, 1865

I am afraid you will think my dear Doctor that I am very urgent on the subject of Recess but as the time approaches so nearly for us to leave town I am anxious to secure a house for the summer especially as it is so inconvenient for me to move about. Should Judge Baker succeed in recovering his house in time for our removal I do not know of any place that I should like so well as Recess but I would not have him know that I was anxious to get there as it is only in case of his removal that I would expect to get it. Will you be kind enough to let me know what is in the house and what it would be necessary for me to take up if I get there. I have bed linen and table linen which of course I will take with me, my knives and forks and my silver. I could also take my crockery both for the table and chambers. But as that is a troublesome thing to move about with, will you let me know what amount of it is in the House and what it would be necessary for me to take up. Also of the kitchen furniture and whether I could hire a cook from you some one that could cook and assist in the washing. I must also premise that we shall *certainly expect* to pay you some rent for the House. We may not require it longer than 4 to 5 months as our future seems still unsettled. I hope Mrs. Lee Brent is improving by this time and am very glad to learn that the fruit I sent was grateful to her. The General and the girls unite in kind regards to you and your family.

Believe me yrs most truly

M. C. Lee"

The foregoing letter is in the possession of Mr. Phillip B. Campbell and hangs, framed, on the wall of the parlor at Brema Recess.

The Lee family stayed at Brema through November of 1865. Then, again through the kindness of Colonel Ellis, arrangements were made for the departure to Lexington on the Colonel's private boat. General Lee, unaware of these special arrangements, had written as follows;

"Lexington, Virginia, November 30, 1865

My dear Mary, I am much disappointed that you did not arrive on the boat last night, as you had determined when you wrote Saturday, to take the boat as it passed on Tuesday. I fear you are prevented either by the indisposition of yourself or of Robert. . . . This is a bright and beautiful morning, and there is no indication of a change of weather, but the season is very uncertain, and snow and ice may be upon us any day. I think you had better come now the first opportunity. Give my kind regards to all at 'Bremo'. Custis is well and went with me to the boat to meet you this morning. The boat stops one and one-quarter miles from town. Remain aboard until we come. . . ."

So the visit to Bremo came to its end and Mrs. Lee, Robert, and Mildred set out for Lexington. Agnes left directly from Bremo for Richmond, where she was to attend the wedding of her friend, Miss Warwick. On the morning of December 2nd, they arrived in Lexington. General Lee, on Traveller, was there to meet them and, putting them in a carriage, escorted them to their new home. The War-chapter was finished and a new life had begun. And the frequent visits to Bremo were almost at an end, too. It was a long farewell said between friends, as Mrs. Lee was not to return to Bremo until June 1870, only a few months before the General's death.

E. H. Lacy Jr.

The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$1.00; a life membership costs \$25.00. A bulletin will be published twice a year, to be distributed for fifty cents a copy. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The Society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: The Editor, Bulletin of the Historical Society, Palmyra, Virginia.

GLEANINGS OF FLUVANNA HISTORY

TAKEN FROM THE
NOTES FOR TALK TO
THE FLUVANNA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AT COLE'S TAVERN
WILMINGTON, VIRGINIA
SEPTEMBER 19, 1965

EDWIN COX

The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$1.50; a life membership costs \$25.00. A bulletin will be published twice a year. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The Society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: The Editor, Bulletin of the Historical Society, Palmyra, Virginia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

On September 19, 1965, the Fluvanna Historical Society met at Cole's Tavern, with General Edwin Cox as the guest speaker. General Cox had been asked to give a "running account" of the history of the county, all of which he did under the title of "Gleanings of Fluvanna History."

So successful was this speech that many of those who heard it clamored for copies but there were no copies—only "a book full of notes." If only we had made a tape-recording!

Realizing the importance for future historians interested in this material, we felt it should be published, and asked permission of General Cox to put his notes with his references into a form for publication in the 1966 issue of *The Bulletin*. He most generously agreed to this request.

We regret not having the literary skills with which we might have put into writing the brilliance of the speech as delivered, but we can hope that these printed "bare bones" will provide for our readers interesting information, some amusing "side-lights" as well as a degree of pride and pleasure in our "Fluvanna past."

We herewith present the "edited notes" of General Cox's speech, and wish to acknowledge the gratitude of the Fluvanna Historical Society for the use of this material.

THE EDITOR

INTRODUCTION OF THE SPEAKER

BY

NANCY BERCAW

General Edwin Cox was born in Richmond, Virginia and is a distinguished graduate of the Virginia Military Institute. He is a chemist, a chemical engineer and a farmer. He is a member of the Executive Committee of The Virginia Historical Society, and a former chairman of the Board of The Virginia State Library. General Cox lives now at Holly Hill in King & Queen County, Virginia.

He is connected with Fluvanna County through descent from early land patentees—Randolph, Cocke and Cary—and primarily through his wife, Virginia De Mott, granddaughter of Virginia Snead of Fork Union (Mrs. William E. Hatcher) and revisor of her grandmother's book, "Sneads of Fluvanna".

INDEX

	PAGE
Geology & Geography	1
First Families of Fluvanna	3
Metes and Bounds	4
Settlement of Fluvanna	6
First Settlers	8
The Revolution	12
Other Aspects of the Revolution	15
1781	17
Peace and Prosperity—and Depressions	20
The War of 1812	28
The Depression—The Panic of 1819	24
“Before The War”	26
The Civil War Period	29
Long Years 1865—1870	33
Three Decades—1870—1900	34
The Twentieth Century	36
References	39

Gleanings of Fluvanna History

INTRODUCTION

The Commonwealth of Virginia is fortunate that another local Historical Society has come into being. Democracy has to rest on sound foundations. Virginia gave to these United States certain principles of government. These principles are based on the local governments, the hustings and the hundreds. Without these bases the mass of government inevitably becomes totalitarian, and by sheer weight topples, and democracy will fall. Preservation of our heritage, revealed by history, will help to preserve these principles.

Also, there is much pleasure to be had in fitting together historical bits and pieces. Fact will be found to be more interesting than fiction. Perhaps you will find that "Grandma's knee is a nice, cozy place to learn about goblins and ghosts; even Santa Claus. But it's a mighty poor place to learn history."

Glean is a good old Angle-Saxon word meaning to gather scattered "bits"—and I have gleaned through eighty-nine reference works to gather what information I may be able to give you today. Dr. Samuel Johnson once commented, "Many a fool will go through a whole library to write one book." No, I have not written a book (are you relieved?), only a book full of notes from which I will speak today in an endeavor to briefly review the one hundred eighty-eight years of Fluvanna history.

GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

"Old Fluvanna" is truly old, rivalling the oldest of exposed land masses. Its geology and geography determined its history. The Wissahickon (good Indian word) schist (a metamorphic crystalline rock) is over 400,000,000 years in age and forms Fluvanna bed rock. It was old when the Blue Ridge was pushed up, and when the Alleghenies were under the sea. A few years later 300,000,000 years or so, a granite extrusion pushed up through the schist, that is now called *Columbian* granite (which takes its name from the Fluvanna site, Columbia.) Just west of Fluvanna there was a volcanic extrusion, stretching from southwest to northeast, that formed the greenstone belt. Some million years later in the Ordovician period there was formed a narrow lake (at about the present site of Bremono), dammed by the granite wall on the east and by the slate wall at Big Rock—now Bremono Bluff. The sediment in this trench-like lake was clay and through many years of metamorphosis formed the slate bed that stretches into the southern part of the county. These rocks are our oldest "written" records.

The schists and granite rocks were eroded over the millions of years and the soils that formed were the red and yellow Podzolic types. Through these years there was heavy erosion—more severe than in other parts of the physiographic provinces now making up Virginia. Only along the stream courses did the alluvium from the up-stream lands maintain a high fertility.

The junction of the branches of the James at Point of Fork is where the streams broke through the granite barrier. Here the Rivanna (North Fork) joined the Fluvanna (South Fork). The James River was called the Main, Powhatan or James only east of this point in Colonial days. Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1783: "This river is called in the maps James River only to its confluence with the Rivanna; thence to the Blue Ridge it is called the Fluvanna; and thence to its source, Jackson's River. But in common speech it is called James River to its source." (in the Alleghenies)

The plane of Fluvanna is tilted. Most of its area is drained by the Rivanna, but in the southwest mainly by the Hardware (and that name goes back to the 1730's), and in the tilted east mainly by the Byrd Creek (River). As seen from the air, the geological and geographical picture is quite clear. All of the names now in use appear on the Jefferson and Fry Map of 1755, except the James which was then called the Fluvanna.

FIRST FAMILIES OF FLUVANNA

We know these true F.F.F.'s mainly by artifacts. We do know that about two to three generations before the English arrived, western Indians displaced the earlier settlers. These "new comers" were termed by the Algonquins, Souian, (meaning simply "foreign language"). Where the Rivanna joined the Fluvanna was their center or "Rassawek". They were called Monacans or "diggingstick" people—probably a term of derision.

Some archeological studies have been made, and work done in this area, with some of the resulting artifacts being now in the possession of the Valentine Museum in Richmond. But we know all too little about the Monacans. Their strength was estimated at 1500 in 1607-1610; fell to 100 by 1669; and before 1700, they were nearly all gone. There is a single reference to the Indians in the records of the settlement of Fluvanna—a land patent in 1751 describing land at the head of Bremono Creek: "The line ran up to the head of the branch that (where) the Indian shot John Lawson at."

The recorded history makes no reference to Indian fighting in the County. The Monacans had silently departed before settlement by the white man had begun.

METES AND BOUNDS

In 1632, the original four Virginia "corporations" or cities, (Elizabeth City, James City, Charles City, Henry City) became shires or counties, containing varying numbers of Parishes, each Parish being divided into precincts that were not only ecclesiastical but political units as well. The "county ancestry" of Fluvanna is: Henrico (Henry City), the original corporation; Goochland erected in 1728, Albemarle in 1744, and Fluvanna was made a county in 1777 by act of the *House of Delegates*, of the independent Commonwealth of Virginia.

The first political unit comprising Fluvanna was St. James Parish of Henrico. It was in 1720, more than a hundred years after Jamestown before there was a political unit other than the original county or parish from which Fluvanna descended. In that year St. James Parish was created from the western part of Henrico. This new Parish, for a brief time, extended indefinitely westward—to the Western Sea, as was sometimes said.

When Albemarle was formed, what is now Fluvanna came into the new parish of St. Anne's, in which it remained until the new county of Fluvanna was created and then the names were taken—Fluvanna for the County and Rivanna for the Parish. These names were for the Rivers and not in any way for Queen Anne of England. In 1777, it was not the spirit of the Virginia Revolutionary to memorialize British Royalty.

In that year (1777) the General Assembly created two other new Virginia Counties; Powhatan (like Fluvanna), cut off from the eastern section of its parent, Cumberland, and Henry, named for the then governor, Patrick Henry. The previous General Assembly (1776) had created the counties of Ohio, Yohogania, Monongalia and Kentucky. The next General Assembly erected the Virginia County of Illinois.

Fluvanna boundaries were ably surveyed. Major William Mayo of Goochland, who surveyed the Virginia-North Carolina line, and laid out the towns of Richmond and Petersburg, ran the north boundary of Louisa-Goochland, and later extended it. The Goochland-Albemarle line was clearly fixed—"line north

30 degrees east extending from the Point of Fork to the Louisa County line." This line is now the eastern boundary of Fluvanna County.

The line on the northwest corner required an adjustment around Mechunk Creek, as the western boundary of Louisa. With the able surveyors Mayo, Fry, and Peter Jefferson, one can be sure this was exact. When Fluvanna was separated from Albemarle, the line was described as "beginning at the most western point on the line of Louisa County and then running directly to the lower edge of Scott's Ferry on the Fluvanna River." There was no allowance for any geographical anomaly. It was to be a straight line, which would bisect Scottsville. It is entirely by chance that the western boundary so closely parallels the eastern boundary at north 30 degrees east.

In 1784, the Parish as a political unit was abolished. The County Court took over the Parish functions. The "precinct" was a land unit. It was not a voting unit until a later Constitution. These Metes and Bounds continued until the Underwood Convention and Constitution of 1868 which did away with the proven Virginia system of County Courts, established Townships, and set up a new form of County Government. When the 1868 Constitution was finally ratified, the townships were Columbia, Palmyra, Fork Union, and Cunningham and these became later the present magisterial districts. The Board of Supervisors, popularly elected, replaced the County Court.

SETTLEMENT OF FLUVANNA

The popular concept that the settlement of new lands west of the Fall Line was by the rugged independent individualist, clearing his own small patches, is contrary to history. It is a legend, as is the columned antebellum homes surrounded by magnolias and plentiful slave labor, and service of juleps on vine-covered porches.

The first explorers up the James, the Fluvanna and Rivanna rivers are not recorded, excepting Captain Newport in 1607. The disappearance of the Indians had been recorded, and there being no Indian population, there was no trade nor trading posts; also, there was no land patented. In 1700, the Huguenot settlement was the upper river limit, and no Indian trouble occurred there.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Virginia population increased fourfold—58,000 to 230,000. Then came the westward push and treaties were made with the Western Indians, which they more honorably observed than did the colonists.

New land policies had been established by Governors Spotswood, Drysdale and Gooch. Rather than individual patents of "50 acres per headright", the system now allowed the receiving of "headrights" by the payment of five shillings to the Colonial treasury. Thus, large patents were issued to planters who had the resources to establish settlements into the Piedmont and across the Blue Ridge. With such patents, these individuals undertook the responsibility for settlement. But for many years, there was friction between these "land speculators" and the colonial government. "Speculator" is a misleading name in today's semantics. These colonial grantees were what today would be called "real-estate developers." They took land in wholesale quantities, made the essential initial investments—mills, "paths", glebes—and then resold, bringing in new settlers, hopefully at a profit. Inevitably, many lost at this game. But most of these Tidewater Virginians knew the requirements and were skilled in the business. Governor Gooch defended the advantages of this system: "Where the greatest tracts have been granted and possessed encouragement has thereby been given to the meaner sort of people

to seat themselves as it were under the shade and protection of the greater." Risks were financial rather than physical. The Indians were gone. "Beasts" were limited to a few wolves, that, rather than a threat, were a source of income through bounties. Probably many a gray fox was classed as a wolf to secure the bounty.

There were no "grants from the King". In Virginia, that troublesome device was limited to the Northern Neck and its Proprietary, which grant, by Charles II, had been bitterly contested. No right was cherished more by Virginia's General Assembly than the privilege of controlling land-ownership. Any title under a King's grant south of the Rappahannock is probably void. It is as un-Virginian as sugar in batterbread.

Patent books show the way in which the land was taken up. The families most interested in developing the Fluvanna and Rivanna lands seemed to have been those seated below the Falls and on the Curles of the James. Nearly half of the patentees were first or second cousins. They picked the rich lands along the streams. Mapping these land patents—and then filling in the gaps—is most interesting.

In the northwest of what is now Fluvanna county, there were patentees from the Rappahannock some of whom were also pushing into the Valley, which was being settled even before the Rivanna and Fluvanna country because of population pressure. The 20 square mile grant to Nicholas Meriweather on the Rappahannock included part of Mechunk Creek. Descendants and kinsmen and neighbors of William Randolph and Mary Isham—called the Adam and Eve of Virginia—pushed up the Fluvanna and Rivanna. The two largest first patentees were brothers-in-law—Cary and Cocke. Others followed: "Bollings", "Carters", "Eppes", "Pages", "Carys". In many instances, buying land rather than patenting it, was simpler and maybe cheaper for smaller investors. Many of the patents of Fluvanna are recorded in Louisa and Goochland Courthouses.

The only plea for "protection" in this period came from citizens being persecuted by horse-thieves who had "established themselves into a confederacy for carrying on their business, passing their stolen horses to agents further off for sale." They remain unnamed.

FIRST SETTLERS

Among the first settlers one meets many interesting Virginians. The Burgesses: Richard Randolph, John Bolling, John Fleming, Dudley Digges, James Holman, Isham Randolph, Edward Scott (Scottsville), Alan Howard (Howardsville), Peter Jefferson, etc. The surveyors stand out: Joshua Fry, (professor of William and Mary, first Burgess from Albemarle, and commander of the First Virginia Regiment, (at whose death Washington succeeded), Peter Jefferson, William Mayo. William Cabell and Thomas Walker were able doctors, surveyors, and explorers. All of these were representatives of what now comprises Fluvanna County.

Joseph Thompson, justice, first sheriff of Albemarle, and militia captain, ran one of Fluvanna's first taverns near now Palmyra. He was an early patentee and a leader of the community. Giles Allegre, son-in-law of Goochland's first clerk, ran the tavern on Mechunk. His daughter married the young Swiss, Albert Gallatin, who became Secretary of the Treasury, and who did much to establish U. S. currency on a sound basis.

John Nicholas, son of George Nicholas of Williamsburg, who in 1729 patented James River land, succeeded William Randolph (non-resident) as first clerk of Albemarle (in 1750). He served for 42 years. His lands were just on the southwest boundary, or just out of it. His brother was Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of the Colony. An interesting story about this gentleman was that when quite advanced in years he fought a duel with Thomas Mann Randolph, one-time Governor of Virginia, and thereafter wore the hat that Randolph's bullet had pierced. Incidentally, they were cousins.

There were other settlers. David Riese had a "piece bit out of his left ear". He, Patrick Nowlin, John and Stephen Heard had to appear before the Court and testify that it was in a "*fair*" fight. The court records had to show this; otherwise David would have been thought to have been branded a felon.

Martin King and Martin King, Jr., were good road builders. Their name was given to the Martin King road. But they got in trouble with the Court, and Martin King was placed in cus-

tody "for a year". His son and James Fenley were placed in stocks. Earlier James Fenley won a suit against Samuel Stephens but Stephens chose a whipping rather than imprisonment and Captain Thompson had to administer twenty-one lashes. As Captain Thompson was one who had adjudged Fenley, it is doubted if the lashes were severe.

George McDaniel enlists sympathy. He was fined for swearing "two oaths in two months".

The Parsons that served now-Fluvanna were interesting men. Mr. Becket seems to have been the first. A description of him has come down to us: "Mr. Becket is a man of strong constitution; loves drink perhaps too well; and living in the Northern Neck where drinking and boxing is too much in fashion has been tempted to quarrel; for being unpolished he is bold and hardy in his temper; and has not yet learned to turn his other cheek. But with this he is constant in the discharge of his duty." The register shows he well attended to his duties. There were troubles with the parson's wife, one of the larger landholder's wives writing "how the parish minister was hampered by his wife who made herself ridiculous by trying to be a fine lady."

Anthony Gavin followed Mr. Becket. He was of Spanish birth, had been a Jesuit, and then ordained. His letter to the Bishop of London, 5 August 1738, is one of the first descriptions of Fluvanna: ". . . hearing that a frontier parish was vacant and that the people of the mountains had never seen a clergyman since they were settled there, I desired the Governor's consent to leave an easy parish for this I do now serve. I have three churches, twenty-three and twenty-four miles from the Glebe, in which I officiate every third Sunday, and besides these I have seven places of service up in the mountains where the clerks read prayers—four clerks in the seven places. I go twice a year to preach in twelve places which I reckon better than four hundred miles backward and forward and ford nineteen times the North and South Rivers. (Note: these are the Fluvanna and Rivanna) I have taken four trips already and the 20th instant I go up again. In my first journey, I baptized white people 209; blacks 172; Quakers 15; and Anabaptists 2." Parson Gavin was a dedicated Missioner. The ratio of white/black baptisms is of interest, and also the "seg-

regation" of Quakers and Anabaptists. The site of the lower colonial church in Fluvanna should be determined.

The Reverend Robert Rose followed Parson Gavin. He was a gifted and versatile man. He came to Saint Anne's Parish when it was created and probably named it as he had come from St. Anne's in Essex. "Like a patriarch of old he set out with his sheep, cattle, servants and family for his new home."

His diary is probably the best reference to Fluvanna in those formative years. He was not only an active Parson, riding hundreds of miles, a surveyor, a large patentee, the originator of the Rose method of transporting tobacco by fastening two canoes together, a builder of large shops, but also he was a leader of his community and an adviser to his Governor. He died on a trip to the Tidewater and is buried at St. John's in Richmond. One interesting reference in his diary tells of visiting a parishioner and of "drinking his whiskey which I think is a poor substitute for claret".

John Ramsey succeeded Parson Rose and served for fifteen years. He "seems" to have gotten in trouble, as after fifteen years of service he was tried for "Neglect of duty and Adultery." The spice can not be given. Presumably he died before sentence could be passed.

Roads, Mills, Ordinaries were quickly established. The roads have been described in the Sketchbook: Bremo, Martin King's, Secretary. The Stage Road came west from Goochland, through Wilmington, (with a cut-off to Columbia behind the granite ridge), and passed by Allegre's Tavern on Mechuck. Until Rose's development of the double canoe, tobacco (both the money crop and "currency") had to be rolled down to Westham and Richmond, the closest warehouses. Rose's "invention" opened up the river traffic, as several hogsheads could then be floated down at one time and supplies poled upwards.

There is a recorded story of a certain man making this trip, carrying his tobacco and his other portable money product to market. He "had consumed too much of the whiskey and forgot to land at Westham. He rode his canoe, tobacco and all over the Falls. Shortly thereafter he was fished from the water downstream, wet and frightened, but sober."

In these colonial days, there were no dams on the rivers. Fish "ran" up the Fluvanna and Rivanna—shad, herring and

rock. The rivers were clear. The little shallow plowing had not eroded the soil, muddied the waters, or filled the rivers with silt.

There was a textile industry using the local wool, and William Nelson of Yorktown wrote: "I now wear a good suit of cloth of my own son's wool manufacture as well as my shirts in Albemarle." This is thought to have been Union Mills.

Colonial Mansions were not built in Fluvanna; The Mansion period came later. The houses first built were the typical A-roofed Virginia cottages which are called by the Williamsburg architects "Medieval Transitional", but best described by Dr. George Bagby in "Uncle Flatback's Plantation".

The Colony fought two wars in this Period of Settlement. Sons from the Fluvanna and Rivanna moved out to the Ohio. There was the growing challenge of total authority two centuries ago. Colonists were "descendants of Englishmen who by their own consent and at the expense of their own blood and treasure had settled the Colony for the aggrandisement of the present kingdom" and "Under an English Government all men are born free, are only subject to laws made by their own consent, and can not be deprived of these laws without a transgression of them."

The author of this protest in 1765 was the brother-in-law of a large land holder of what is now Fluvanna, and the kinsman of many. He spoke for the people of Fluvanna, their feelings then and now.

THE REVOLUTION

In 1767, a young lawyer in his early twenties rode back through Fluvanna after graduating from the College of William and Mary and studying law under George Wythe. The old Stage Road was a familiar route to him, leading from his father's lands at Shadwell, to his mother's home at Tuckahoe. His surveyor father, who was now dead, had probably laid it out. Often in the future, he would ride that road from his new home, Monticello, to the lands he bought just over the Goochland line at Elk-Hill—and there *are two* Elk Hills.

Young Thomas Jefferson had probably been present when the General Assembly in 1765 had passed the Act: "For clearing the great falls of the James River, the river Chickahominy, and the north branch of the James River" (Rivanna). The General Assembly resolved, but now it was up to undertakers to carry out the plans and, as a trustee, clearing the Rivanna was one of Jefferson's first tasks. "To the best of his knowledge no hogsheads of tobacco had been transported on the North Branch of the James to the junction with the larger stream." He vigorously led in remedying this situation. Many years later, before being elected President, Jefferson drew up a list of "undertakings" as he asked himself whether "his country was the better for his having lived." This improvement of the Rivanna was the first item on his list.

There was another result and reward to this. In 1768, an election of a new House of Burgesses was ordered by the new Governor, Norbonne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt. From Albemarle there were three candidates. One was Dr. Thomas Walker of "Castle Hill", explorer, doctor, surveyor. The second was Edward Carter, son of John Carter (the Colonial Secretary for whom the Secretary Ford and Secretary Road were named, and a grandson of "King" Carter.) They were the incumbents. The third candidate was the young red-headed attorney, only twenty-five years old with one year's practice of law behind him. Walker appeared certain of election. Carter and Jefferson, not as certain, supplied the electors with rum, in accordance with the practice of "swilling the planters with

bimbo". Jefferson records that he provided "drinks and cakes". In a close election, Jefferson defeated Carter. One wonders what would have been the course of history had the election by the freeholders of Albemarle turned out differently. Probably the deciding factor was the vote from the eastern section of Albemarle in return for his work on the Rivanna. This was one of the greatest services rendered to Virginia and to our Nation.

In 1771 there was catastrophe; a great freshet swept away the new mills along the Rivanna, flooded low grounds, and ruined crops. Large landowners, burdened by British debts, had to dispose of acreages. There was a heavy turnover in Fluvanna lands. New names appear. One of them was David Ross, Scotsman, trader, and miller, who, in time, became a major supplier of war materials in the Revolution.

In 1775, Minutemen were formed into a company. Frederick Wills and Patrick Napier, corporals, seem to have certainly been from this section of Albemarle that became Fluvanna. Eighteen of the Minuteman Company marched on Williamsburg, returned, and then on July 11, 1775, twenty-seven marched back again.

Albemarle was called on for two companies. They trained at Rockfish Gap and then moved to the Continental Line. Some of these Fluvanna troops were sent out to garrison Fort Henry (now Wheeling) for the protection of the Northwestern frontier. Others went to the Northern Theater.

As in all wars, there was the problem of men and materials. Substitutes were used when conscription had to be enforced. Davis Ross and Charles Lynch (the latter a son of a Fluvanna patentee) were in charge of lead procurement. The early years of the War left what is now Fluvanna unscarred, save for the sacrifice of her sons and economic disruption. Wartime inflation was on. Tobacco, although there was a limited market, tripled in price, and tobacco was the currency. Those who had "capital" saw their relative values fall. Those who owed money could pay off debts. There were many changes, economic as well as governmental.

In 1777, the new county was formed, named for its Rivers. The boundaries included "the Islands in the Fluvanna". The County Court was elected by the legislature.

Wilson Miles Cary, senior member of the Quorum, was presiding justice and the first officer of the new county. He was from the lower Rivanna. The Thompson brothers, George and Roger, were from the center of the county, near now Palmyra. They were sons of Joseph Thompson, the sheriff and one of the original justices of Albemarle. Martin Key with lands in the northwest of Fluvanna became the first Sheriff. He was a son of John Key who had been justice of Albemarle. William Henry, brother of the Governor, Patrick Henry, had lands on the Hardware. Jesse Burton was from the northeast section of the county, son of an early settler in Goochland and of a family active in the then new Baptist denomination.

John Ware from the eastern part of the county, was the son of an early Goochland patentee. Thomas Napier from the central part of the county was also of "Goochland stock", and brother of Patrick Napier of the Minutemen. The House of Delegates distributed and made diverse the Court of the new County.

Martin Key became Sheriff, the second officer of the County; William Henry went to the House of Delegates as Delegate of the new County; Thomas Napier was designated County Lieutenant, in command of the Militia. The population of the new county is estimated to have been 2500 or slightly more and probably 200 to 225 families. Many were away at the "wars".

John Timberlake, with the approval of the Governor, was appointed the first county clerk. He faithfully served the county for 41 years until he died in 1820, at the age of 89.

John Timberlake should certainly be honored for his own distinguished service, but he will be remembered also for being the brother-in-law of Peggy O'Neal (Mrs. James Timberlake), who was a contributing cause of a political furor during the administration of President Andrew Jackson, and whose name is memorialized in the well-known song "That's Peggy O'Neal". She was a great beauty.

The County of Fluvanna was in being, and a trying period it was.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION

With the spirit of the Revolution, there came dissatisfaction with the prevailing "religious" organization—or lack of same. Vestries had, to a great extent, been self-perpetuating; their authority had extended to secular matters. Now, domination by any group was resented. For a generation, in Louisa to the north, and Cumberland to the south, there had been strong congregations of Presbyterians. In Louisa and in Albemarle there were Quaker meetings (see above: Parson Gavin). In the 1770's, the Baptist movement had come down from the North and was strong in the area east of the Rivanna. The Toleration Act assured freedom of worship but the dual temporal-spiritual authority of the Vestries was challenged, and there was the issue of separation of church and state.

On 22 October 1776 there was a meeting of representatives from Albemarle (including Fluvanna), Buckingham and Amherst counties. A memorial was drawn up to the "Delegates and Senators" of the Commonwealth stating that "being Dissenters from the Church of England they had not been in equal footing with other good people of this colony" and that all religious denominations should be placed on an equal footing. Many citizens of Fluvanna were at this meeting including Thomas Napier, Thomas Pemberton, Walter Leake and John Harris. The Burton family also were leaders of this movement.

On May 18, 1779, an outstanding historical event occurred in Fluvanna. The war had disrupted religious services. Many Ministers of the Church of England were loyal to the Crown and not acceptable to rebel congregations. Many Parishes were without clergy and vestries were depleted by military service. The Reverend Devereaux Jarratt and the evangelism of Francis Asbury had awakened religious feelings. The "lay preachers" were trying to carry on without "an organization". There was a meeting held at Brokenback Church, the upper church of Fluvanna, and resolutions were adopted that would permit ordination of the members of this conference and so empower them to celebrate the ordinances of their religion. The ordination took place and "More than three score went

back to their circuits in Virginia and the Carolinas and began at once to administer the sacraments to the comfort and satisfaction of their own people." This was one of the most significant events of the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Records of Fluvanna are free of any reference to troublous religious differences. With the disestablishment of the Church of England in 1784, both the lower church (site unknown) and Brokenbackt Church fell into disrepair. It is interesting that the "parish funds" of St. Anne's Parish went toward the establishment of the University of Virginia, and are so listed. From then on "denominations" shared houses of worship, and in the area of the "Fork" (between the James and Cunningham Creek), a brick church was built in 1824 called "Brick Union". Four denominations worshipped there. It was later called "Fork Union".

In 1800 the Committee of Correspondence met in Lyles Baptist Church at Wilmington. It was at this meeting that the General Meeting of Correspondence of the United Baptist Association in Virginia was adopted by a large majority. This preceded and led to the General Association.

Fluvanna was the site in large measure of the establishment of both the Methodist and Baptist denominations in the Commonwealth.

1781 was a fateful year. It had been six years since the Minutemen marched on Williamsburg. Fluvanna soldiers had fought the campaigns in the Northern Colonies and in the Northwest until George Rogers Clark destroyed the Shawnee capital. Some had been discharged but others were with Greene's Continental Armies in the Carolinas. Times were dark. George Washington on the Hudson wrote: "We seem to be verging so fast in destruction that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger till within these three months." Benedict Arnold, commanding British Forces, had ravaged Tidewater Virginia; the British had destroyed the Continental Base in Chesterfield where Baron von Steuben had been collecting men and supplies for Greene's Army. Leaving Chesterfield, April 27, Phillips and Arnold had converged on Warwick and Richmond, razed the first and captured the works and laboratory at Westham. Von Steuben moved his base, with what supplies he could evacuate, to Point of Fork, and this became the supply base, not only for Virginia's own defense, but for Greene's Army. It also supplied George Rogers Clark's 1781 campaign against Detroit.

The economic condition is hard to picture. All supplies, except on-site food, were critical. David Ross of Fluvanna was responsible for mining and securing the necessary lead. Currency had depreciated so much that tobacco was worth 2,000 shillings per cwt.—if it could be gotten to market. The Virginia Assembly fixed the price of a cavalry horse (\$150 hard money) at \$150,000. This was the "Ravaging of Virginia". Damage was estimated at three million pounds (hard money)—billions continental money. Further, there was an intense feud between Governor Jefferson and Von Steuben. The Virginia defense forces consisted of three small units under Lafayette and the hastily constituted militia brigades of Nelson and Muehlenberg. They were far outnumbered by the well-trained and well-armed British. Jefferson ordered the draft to be rigidly enforced which added nothing to his popularity in this period of defeat. Calls for help were unheeded.

"Virginia, then impoverished by defending the Northern Department, exhausted by the Southern War, now finds the full weight of it upon her shoulders."

On May 13, General Phillips, who had succeeded Benedict Arnold, died at Petersburg. On May 20 Cornwallis arrived there with a brigade of guards, parts of four British regiments, a Hessian regiment, Hamilton's Tories, and Tarleton's Legion. He not only assumed command but reinforced Phillips' force of four regiments—the 76th, the 80th, the Queen's Rangers, and the American Legion.

The war now moved to Fluvanna.

Cornwallis advanced west immediately. Within 10 days Colonel Simcoe with his Queen's Rangers (Tory—not British—cavalry) and the 2nd Battalion of the 71st Regiment of the Line were at Point of Fork. Fluvanna was invaded. Von Steuben, having moved to Point of Fork less than five weeks before, now again moved what supplies he could to the south over the James (Fluvanna) and retreated to the West.

On June 4, from Louisa, Cornwallis sent young Major Tarleton to seek to capture the Virginia Assembly and Governor Jefferson. It is well known how Jack Jouett, Jr., son of the Charlottesville tavern keeper, rode from Cuckoo to Monticello. He took a "disused and shorter route". Did it come through Fluvanna? Geographically it would have. Cornwallis, meanwhile, moved to Elk Hill, Jefferson's plantation on the eastern edge of Fluvanna. Tarleton withdrew across Fluvanna from Charlottesville. Until June 12, Cornwallis remained at Elk Hill. We must assume eastern Fluvanna was ravaged; Elk Hill certainly was. By June 20 Cornwallis had withdrawn to Richmond.

Now there is a sudden shift of scenes. At Mechunk, the young Lafayette (incidentally in his first and only campaign) with his 800 Continentals, was reinforced by Anthony Wayne with 750 Continentals from Pennsylvania, the Virginia brigades of Stevens and Lawson, Campbell's brigade from Southwest Virginia and Von Steuben's hastily trained recruits and discharged soldiers under Colonel Febiger. On Mechunk in Fluvanna the army was formed that pursued Cornwallis. The campaign that led to Yorktown began here. Within four months there came the glorious victory.

There was sadness, though. Despite the beginning of the successful campaign, Jefferson completed his term of office in disgrace and under investigation. Though that investigation, made by those hostile to Jefferson, clearly revealed the fault could not be charged to him, Jefferson withdrew from Virginia public life unfairly accused. His next sphere of achievement would be in the Confederation.

The War did not end for Fluvanna at Yorktown. The Point of Fork Depot, with recovered supplies and captured war material, continued to be the southern supply base. War material was now plentiful; there was no threat; victory had been achieved. Peace was on the way.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY—AND DEPRESSIONS

The generation 1780's—1810's, was an interesting one in the U. S., in Virginia and in Fluvanna history. Events moved fast. From the surrender at Yorktown in October 1781 to 1788, Virginia had largely recovered from The Ravaging. When Governor Benjamin Harrison took office, there were "but four shillings in the Treasury". Thirty thousand slaves had been lost, towns and villages burned. Eighteen months later Virginia had given 123,000 Virginia pounds, as well as much goods, to the Confederation and to the Northwest territories. She had recreated her Army and Navy and refinanced her own government. One of the first acts of the Commonwealth had been to reestablish the pound sterling as currency instead of the worthless continental dollar. Tobacco export had soared to 86,000,000 pounds at the price of 40 shillings a hundredweight in hard Virginia money. This brave chapter is generally unsung!

These were bright and hopeful days along the Fluvanna and Rivanna, and were often to be looked back upon. At Point of Fork, now the State Arsenal, barracks were built and from here Colonel Peyton commanded the First Virginia Regiment. In 1785 Point of Fork was among the first of three tobacco inspection markets to be established west of the Fall Line; others were at Lynch's Ferry (now Lynchburg) and at Crow's Ferry, the head of navigation on the James. A Canal Company was chartered to develop navigation of the James. General Washington accepted the Presidency of the Canal Company but Edmund Randolph, soon to become first Attorney-General, was the administrative head. David Ross, John Harvie and William Cabell were directors. A dam was duly built across the James, (a discouraging result of which "progress" being that shad, herring and rock fish could no longer make their annual run up the river). The Rivanna was cleared but transportation was limited to batteaux.

In 1788, during the boom, Point of Fork was chartered as a town; streets were laid out and lots were sold. In keeping with the terms and the adoption of the Constitution the town

was named "Columbia". It was to have been a great center. Incidentally, it was this "spirit of growth" and not legislative action, that led to the legend that the Capital might be at Columbia rather than its already well established location at Richmond.

One of the first families to settle here was that of Christian Wertebaker, whose descendants gave so much to Virginia education. In June 1788, the year of the establishment of Columbia, Virginia (with reservations) adopted the Constitution, voting 89 to 79. Change was immediate.

The dollar again replaced the sound Virginia shilling. Tobacco prices fell sharply due to the "Morris" monopoly on tobacco export. Jefferson wrote, "The monopoly of the purchase of tobacco for France had thrown the commerce of that article into agonies." The Hamiltonian finance system placed heavy penalties on Virginia and further, Virginia planters who had paid their British debts to the Commonwealth in order to finance the Revolution, had now to pay them again. The landed families lost heavily. Senator Giles stated that the New England States and north, proposed to make the "Southern States a Milch cow out of which the substance would be extracted", and a neighboring county memorialized, "It is time to determine whether the people of America, in throwing off the yoke of England, had no object than to place it again on their necks. Had the pleasure and treasure of the people been expended only to expose them to a new flock of harpies more ravenous because more lean?"

This Federal depression struck Fluvanna a hard blow. The Arsenal was closed. The canal was not built for another half century and only after the Erie Canal had gone through.

In the first census, the county had a population of 3,922. Some lands had not been patented and could now come only from the Land Office. Samples of Commodity Prices in Virginia currency were as follows:

In Lbs.—Houses, 20-25; "second rate" houses, 12-20; Oxen, pair 8-15 (the working beasts); Steers, 2.5-3; Milch Cows, good, 5.

In shillings—Hogs, 12-15; Sheep, 6-15; Geese and Turkeys, 2; Wheat, 4½ a bushel; Corn, 2 shilling a bushel.

In 1800 the "Virginia Dynasty" came into Federal power.

Times improved. This was the second boom period. Building of the first Fluvanna mansions began in this period. Mills were built. There were not only custom mills but merchant mills for export. Four grades were "fine", "superfine", "middlings" and for the feeds, "Shipstuff" or "Bran" for local usage. Virginia and Fluvanna flour moved south "across the Equator" and was said to be the only flour of a quality to stand this. Virginia law required Virginia inspection and grading of all products—not only tobacco and flour, but corn, beef, pork, and timber.

Mills needed water power. Dams were built across the Rivanna. The Rivanna Navigation Company was chartered in 1810. Locks were built around the dams. The river was broadened and dredged. This antedated the James River and Kanawha Canal by a generation. With the water power came textile mills, using not only wool but also local cotton. The Magruder family of Maryland built the Union Mills, this family being antecedents of the Confederate General John Bankhead Magruder and the Bankheads of Alabama (U. S. Senator and Speaker of the House)—and, not to be omitted, Tallulah Bankhead.

The Stagecoach road was the route from Richmond to the west. Along this road there were the many noted Fluvanna taverns.

THE WAR OF 1812

The war came but spared Fluvanna. General John Hartwell Cocke commanded one of the four Virginia Brigades. In this brigade there were the Fluvanna companies. A rugged discipline was enforced, maybe inspired by and surpassing that of Von Steuben. In his "Twelve Virginia Counties", John Gwathmey cites two examples of discipline at the training center at Camp Carter in Louisa: "In punishing a soldier who did kick and break the jawbone of another, an item of the meted punishment was that on the ninth day he shall be put in the pillory and there remain one-half hour and on the tenth day he shall be drummed from the right to left of the Brigade with his crime described in large letters upon him; and finally, his ration of whiskey stopped for twenty days." A second soldier, accused of "stabbing", was placed in the pillory and would "receive while there, on his bare posterior, fifteen cobs, which shall be executed with a paddle made for that purpose with a number of holes bored through the end."

General Cocke achieved a highly disciplined and trained Brigade. This brigade was assigned to the defense of Richmond when the British entry into the Chesapeake was assumed to be a threat against Virginia's capital. Times were not good. A surgeon on General Cocke's staff, Dr. Thomas Massie, complained; "The best way of disposing of any kind of grain is to distill it into whiskey. That liquor, I am *informed*, being worth 90 cents per gallon. Wheat and flour are worth nothing at present." Interesting records as to this use of Fluvanna's grain are found at the County Court House. But such practice did not follow the later teachings of our rugged disciplinarian, General Cocke, who in 1828 joined "The Sons of Temperance."

THE DEPRESSION—PANIC OF 1819

The short boom following the War of 1812 was followed by a depression equalling that of a little over a century later. Values fell to one-third of those of 1816-17. There was a depression of spirit as well as of values.

The James River Canal, longed for by the people of Fluvanna, could not proceed. It became forfeit to the Virginia Board of Public Works, a relief measure of 1816. The Attorney General entered suit against the company in 1818 and title passed to the Commonwealth February 17, 1820. The James River Canal, which had deprived Fluvanna of bountiful fishing, was limited to the passage from Westham to Richmond. Batteaux had to continue to carry the tobacco and freight down the James, dunking half of it. The dream faded. "Prices of wheat, corn and tobacco fell to new lows"; "All of our most independent men seem to be running to the west."

New building ceased. The mills lost their volume and once prosperous mill-sites fell to a custom-mill level. Virginia cotton could not compete with that of the new Southern States. Possibly, as an outcome of the depression, there was the new Constitution of 1828, which broadened the suffrage and authorized some elections of county officers.

In this depression there was the bright spot of the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette. He was not the youthful leader in his first independent campaign; he was now an aged man, who had been imprisoned and then exiled, although a leader of democratic government in France. He wanted to once again visit the scenes of his youthful ventures. He came to Norfolk and then to Richmond, October 26, 1824, attended a series of parties each day, a trip to Petersburg on the 29th, then back to Richmond. On November 2nd he was escorted to Goochland, and there was given a party with many "eloquent and expressive toasts". On the morning of November 3rd, he was escorted by the Goochland Troop, under Colonel William Bolling, to Columbia and was there welcomed by General John H. Cocke. The old Marquis must have been weary.

After a rest (and it could not have been long) he was drawn

in a coach by "four English stallions of true hunters breed" to Wilmington in an hour and five minutes. In a coach, over November roads of 1824, that must have been a rugged physical experience (hunters don't make good coach horses—nor do stallions). There at Cole's (then Will's) Tavern, he greeted his old war comrades, "upwards of thirty revolutionary soldiers" (they were then dying out). There followed a dinner with one hundred and twenty sitting down to table. It was on November 11th and that the distinguished general was met at the Albemarle county line by the "Lafayette Guards" and was escorted to Monticello where Mr. Jefferson, far advanced in years, with "tottering steps", descended to meet him. Their greetings were: "Lafayette"—"Jefferson" . . . and a warm embrace.

On his tour, Lafayette repeatedly toasted, "To Mechunk!" Probably few knew its significance. One wonders . . . did the old soldier ever get back to "Mechunk" where his early command of a few hundred men had risen to thousands? His route to Monticello had by-passed it, as had his route from Monticello to Montpelier where he visited Mr. Madison.

Maybe General Lafayette felt as did his great grandson some 107 years later, when that also-elderly French soldier had been through a week of Virginia entertainment. It was early on a misty, cold, October morning in 1931, on the York River, when aides were awaiting "the high brass" to whom they were assigned, and General the Count de Chambrun was awaiting Marshal Petain. Some of the then "wine of the country" was brought forth—"water-white fruit of corn". Thinking it was a simple "vin blanc" the pink-faced and thoroughly chilled Count gulped it down (as had others) and then exploded in clear Military French, "My god! What a wine! What a country!"

Far too slowly the depression of the 1820's wore out. On March 16, 1832, the James River Canal Company again became a private venture, but with the State retaining sixty per cent of the stock. However, the first meeting of the new company did not take place until May 25, 1835.

"BEFORE THE WAR"

The quarter century preceding 1860 were years, generally speaking, of happiness and prosperity. There was the Mexican War but that was far away. Relative prosperity had returned to Virginia. There was a new agriculture. There were new plows that, with teams of oxen, could plow deep. Marl, and later, Guano could replenish the soil. It was truly said that the Maryland and Virginia farmer "in these middle decades had solved problems greater than those presented to any other part of the nation and from him more could be learned of future importance than from other farmers in the nation." Cyrus McCormick developed the Virginia Reaper and was "compelled to wagon his reapers from his Forge in Rock-bridge County down the turnpike to Scottsville whence they were shipped by canal to Richmond, by sea to New Orleans, and thence up the Mississippi and Ohio to their destination."

Under the new management, the James River and Kanawha Canal had been finished. General John H. Cocke was one of the eight directors. Simon W. Wright was the assistant engineer in charge of the section from Scottsville to Maiden's Adventure. It is interesting to note that in these late 1830's, the lands of the entire passage of the canal through Fluvanna were held by only eight landowners; west to east they were:

Hart V. Tutwiler
John Johnson's heirs
Edward A. Ancell
John H. Cocke
John H. Toney
William Woodson
William Galt
James Galt

Another interesting point in this prosperous period, that denies most popular understanding, was that "Slave labor proving inadequate and *workers* scarce, German and Scotch employees were induced to come to work on the canal." In fact, in 1831-32, the General Assembly of Virginia had again

decried slavery, (Virginia had sought to prohibit slavery in 1788), and only by a vote of seven had the move to abolish slavery been defeated. The reason for its defeat was "that to pay values would absorb all our present means".

In July 1840 water was let into the canal from Seven Islands (Shores) to Westham. Sixty five years had elapsed since its initiation. On December 3rd, the freight boat "General Harrison" ascended the canal to Lynchburg. But with the canal's completion, it was obsolete. The railroad had reached Louisa in 1835 and was soon extended to Charlottesville. The canal could compete only on heavy freight and by 1860 there was a plan to replace the canal with the James River railroad. The Rivanna Canal from Rivanna Mills to Columbia was rebuilt in this period—50 feet wide at the waterline. The Rivanna Mills were again grinding and in "merchant" volumes.

In this period of growing prosperity there was a decision to build a new Court House. The present site, Palmyra, was chosen by elections. The Gazetteer of 1836 described the new courthouse and the townsite of Palmyra which was surveyed in 1854. Who facetiously named it for the beautiful city in the Desert? Is there any connection between persimmons and dates?

In 1832 there came a "Gold Rush". That metal was found in the granite extrusion in the eastern part of the county. The Tellurium Mine (but there was no tellurium) on the eastern border of the county was discovered in 1832 and was mined until 1857. It yielded over \$1,000,000. The *Bowles* Mine was one-half mile from the Tellurium. The *Page* Mine was one-half mile west of Wilmington. The *Hughes* Mine was five miles north of Brema (and operated into the twentieth century). The *Snead* Mine was two miles north of Fork Union. William Barton Rogers, later founder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, prospected and wrote reports on these mines.

In this period of change, post offices (with the new postal system) dotted the county. Newspapers came into general distribution. The Constitution of 1850 gave suffrage to every white male citizen over twenty-one and for the first time these men could vote for the Governor (previously elected by the General Assembly), as well as for the County justices. Schools

and Academies were established, good houses were built, plantations were generally improved.

These were happy years for Fluvanna. Dr. George Bagby described it more accurately than the "moonlight—roses" writers when he wrote: "I do know, as I know nothing else, that the first years of human life, and the last, yea, if it be possible, all the years, should be passed in the country. The towns may do for a day, a week, a month at most, but nature, mother nature, pure and clean, is for all time; yes for eternity itself."

Virginia's economy was agricultural in contrast to the industrial northeast, but it was not a slave economy. The Commonwealth *and* the County were aghast when John Brown raided Harper's Ferry and Fluvanna's Regiment of Militia was readied as the 12th Militia Regiment under Colonel Cary Charles Cocke. The State was angered at the reactions of the northern states, and dismayed when the Cotton States seceded. This was the end of an era.

THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

For "four long and arduous years" the Commonwealth of Virginia has commemorated the Civil War and probably little can be added to these records. There are few "gleanings" set forth in this period, and those are in brief form.

In early 1861 or before, as events moved frightenly fast, many young men of Fluvanna were forming themselves into two volunteer companies, separate from the Militia. Apparently they were "locally uniformed and armed." One of these companies met at the "courthouse" and elected Captain Robert H. Poore its Captain. The other company drilled at Scottsville. The Palmyra Company chose the name of Fluvanna Rifle Guard while the Scottsville Company, of both Fluvanna and Albemarle men, named their company the Scottsville Guard. "Two weeks" before the County was to vote on Secession, these two companies moved out. The Fluvanna Rifle Guard went to the "mobilization center" at Richmond on May 10 and then to the critical defenses of Norfolk. The Scottsville Guard, on May 11, moved to Manassas. The Fluvanna Rifle Guard became Company C of the 14th Virginia, regimented with companies from Chesterfield, Amelia, Halifax, Mecklenburg and Bedford counties. Colonel James G. Hodges was the regimental commander and the regiment went into Armistead's Brigade and later into Pickett's Division. The Scottsville Guard went into the 19th Virginia at Manassas, commanded successively by: Fluvanna's Colonel Philip St. George Cocke, Colonel Rust, and John Bowie Strange of Fluvanna . . . the cadet who first relieved the Arsenal guard at VMI. This regiment was in the brigade commanded by General Garnett and also in Pickett's division. These regiments—the 14th and 19th Virginia—were great regiments of the Army of Northern Virginia. On July 3, 1863, both were in the assault on Cemetery Ridge. Armistead's Brigade, crossing the stonewall, lost in action its brigade commander. The 19th Virginia lost Fluvanna's son, Colonel Strange at South Mountain in 1862, Henry Gantt, captain of the Scottsville Guard, became regimental commander.

The Ordinance of Secession was ratified on May 23, 1861.

Immediately three other infantry companies were formed. On May 20, the *Fluvanna Hornets* were organized in the area of Wilmington, at Kent's Store, with Thomas K. Weisiger as Captain. In the northeastern corner of the county the *Ambler Greys* was organized on June 8, by men from "Goochland, Louisa, Fluvanna, and Hanover" and they elected Captain Joseph L. Shelton to be their Captain. In the Fork, or southwest of the County, the *Fluvanna Guards* were organized on June 11 and elected David W. Anderson as Captain. These three volunteer companies hastily assembled and quickly armed, learned war in the hard school of experience. They became Companies D (Ambler Greys), F (Hornets), K (Guard) of the 44th Virginia and under command of Colonel W. W. Scott, who had stepped down from his rank of general in the militia. These companies were hurried to the "northwestern frontier" of the Commonwealth. It is a coincidence that, in both the Revolution and this uncivil war, Fluvanna forces fought west of the Alleghenies. After the trying days of the mountain campaigns of '61-'62, this 44th Virginia Regiment went into Ewell's Division, then into Jackson's and followed Stonewall through the Valley Campaign. Later they were in Edward ("Alleghany") Johnson's Division. Losses were such that, after Spottsylvania, the entire regiment was formed into one company.

Infantry, needed in the largest number, was not then, nor is it now, the most popular of armed services. Oddly enough, in Fluvanna, there was initially no cavalry troop. One of the reasons may have been that Virginia required each trooper to furnish his own mount and would pay the cost only if the horse was killed in battle, not if he died of natural causes. Also, there had been elsewhere a rush to the Cavalry and the number of units had to be restricted. In the northwest of the county, Reuben Boston organized a heavy artillery company for the 3rd Artillery Regiment. In early 1862, this unit grew tired of the detail of manning heavy guns, and reorganized. They were then accepted as a Cavalry troop and were put into the new 5th Virginia Cavalry, commanded by the young giant, recently graduated from West Point, Thomas Lafayette Rosser. It was a regiment that had hard fighting. Captain Boston, after wounds, capture and exchange, succeeded to com-

mand of the 5th and was tragically killed on the 6th of April in probably the last cavalry action of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The appeal of the artillery (or lack of appeal of the infantry) led to the formation of two other artillery units—the *Sons of Fluvanna* in the center of the county organized on August 6th under Captain Brent and the *Fluvanna Artillery* organized in the Fork Union area. Before this, the need for men (after Garnett's defeat in the mountains) was such that all able bodied men were mobilized into the 12th Militia Regiment and were sent to Charlottesville. Colonel Cary Cocke commanded this militia and upon his return, stepped down to the rank of Captain and commanded the Fluvanna Artillery. He was succeeded in his militia command by Colonel John J. Johnson. These two artillery batteries were in Major Nelson's reserve artillery. After the 1862 campaigns and various changes in command, the two batteries were consolidated into the Fluvanna Artillery commanded by Captain John L. Massie. After his death, in the fall of 1864, Captain Charles G. Snead commanded this battery of "Second Corps" artillery.

There are three other Fluvanna units listed in the Virginia units. On April 3, 1862, Captain Henry Price enlisted a company of Heavy Artillery from Albemarle and Fluvanna (replacing Captain Boston's). Organization was not completed and it was consolidated with Captain Hendren's Company B, 18th Battalion, Virginia Heavy Artillery. A home guard (limited service company) was organized of boys under eighteen and men between forty-five and fifty called the *Fluvanna Rangers*. This company was successively commanded by Captains James M. Strange, J. B. Perkins, John C. Holland. After the Federal raid of May 1863 another home guard unit was organized—the "*Fluvanna Guards*". Interestingly, the Captain who organized the unit on July 7 resigned August 18, 1863.

Fortunately, Fluvanna was spared the deeper scars of war. One dislikes to remember the great sacrifices of these four arduous years. From an historical standpoint, court records show many claims for exemption, the use of substitutes, and actions to replace substitutes. There was continuing inflation and with it a false prosperity. Crop cycles continued. There was no significant loss of "contrabands". In May 1863, Federal

Cavalry raided south from Hooker's Army on the Rappahannock. A heavy column moved on Charlottesville and a cavalry detachment rode to Columbia to seek to destroy canal communications. Losses were light. They are recorded as "One foot bridge, two road bridges, four farm bridges and one gate on Lock 14." Navigation was held up only two days. Mrs. Snead's Fluvanna Sketch Book" and James Galt's Diary give interesting accounts of the civilian reaction at this raid. The raid was of light cost compared to the victory at Chancellorsville to which the absence of Federal Cavalry contributed.

Two interesting facets of Fluvanna's War History were that a Confederate *Naval* rest camp was located on the Rivanna, and in the lower end of the county there was an area for supply of the Chimborazo Hospital, the largest military hospital of the Confederacy.

In the despairing days of the spring of 1865 (March), Sheridan's troops moved east, after destroying Jubal Early's Army of the Valley. Some 6,000 of his troops came south to Scottsville, moved east to Goochland, and then skirted Richmond. Their course was a leisurely one. They took all "*surplus supplies*" but there were no untoward incidents. The end of the war was near. Spring crops went in. On April 7, 1865, came "Appomattox".

LONG YEARS 1865-1870

"Go home and go to work" was General Lee's advice. The canal was repaired, crops were planted and there was a good harvest. On June 28, 1865, the packet boats were again running. The mills ground again. There had been little physical damage in the county. Financially there was a loss by nearly all save those who had prospered by war prices and had converted their holdings into rare gold or into "real" properties.

In 1866 there came a radical change. Virginia refused to adopt the Fourteenth Amendment disqualifying those who had served the Confederacy. On March 1867 Virginia became Military District No. 1. A Federal Lieutenant stationed at Palmyra became Military Governor of Fluvanna. All county officers were changed. James D. Barrett, a colored shoemaker and minister, represented Fluvanna in the Convention for drafting a New Constitution. "Townships" were set up, then changed to magisterial districts. The County Court of long proven efficiency ceased.

After adjustments in January 1870, Virginia regained statehood and Fluvanna was again self-governing. The census of 1870 shows a population of 9,875. These were costly years.

THREE DECADES—1870-1900

The burdens of the War and of Reconstruction (1865-1870) were heavy. Agricultural production could not recover nor compete with western production. Export markets were gone. Erosion had muddied the rivers, carried off topsoil, silted the streams. Capital was so limited as to be practically non-existent. The Rivanna no longer carried the produce of Albemarle and the James River Canal could not compete with the rails. After only thirty years of service it was known that the Canal could not be a success.

On March 27, 1873, the "Straight Shoot Railroad" was incorporated by northern capitalists to build a railroad up the James replacing the Canal. On February 28, 1878, with the name changed to *Richmond and Alleghany*, there was a new charter and the canal passed into new ownership. By November 19, 1880, the railroad reached Columbia; February 17, 1881, Bremono Bluff; March 17, 1881, Scottsville. Fluvanna had its first railroad; the canal days were gone. After receivership in 1883, the Chesapeake and Ohio took over the Alleghany in 1887. In 1885 the Buckingham railroad had been built, with the bridge over the James at "Big Rock", which now was renamed "Bremono Bluff".

An accepted obligation of the Alleghany Railroad was that if the James River Canal were abandoned, the Railroad would maintain the dams and towpath on the Rivanna to furnish service to the center of the county. Fluvanna citizens, led by T. O. Troy, cited such neglect by the Railroad, and the C&O built the Virginia Airline, completing it in the early twentieth century. The few lower miles of the Rivanna canal continued to operate as the Rivanna Navigation Company. With the railroad, came the telegraph, and then the "local" telephone lines.

Politics was not an avocation but a necessity in this period. Lines were sharply drawn—Conservatives/Radicals—then Funders/Readjusters, and in the 1880's/90's came the rise of the Populist Party. In 1892 Edmund Randolph Cocke of Cumberland County, as nominee of the Populist party for Governor, carried twenty-two counties.

The public school system was developed and by an "act of the General Assembly" in 1886-87, the Central High School at Palmyra became the "first legally accredited rural high school in Virginia". In 1898 the Fork Union Academy, initially co-educational, was founded. A catalogue of that school, some years later, described it as "far from the evil influences of the small towns and the dangers of the large city." Shades of Dr. George Bagby!

There was the Spanish American War, but with little influence on Fluvanna.

Then came the twentieth century!

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

It is difficult for many to realize how fast "history" has moved in our own lives. One-third of Fluvanna's "History" is within the twentieth century. "Gleaning" is difficult.

The long yellow trains of the James River Division, winding up the Valley, with the bright brass of the parlor car, are memories of the past.

The creek-bottom road that ran north from Columbia is gone. The State Highway System has built major roads across the county; and all roads are "all-weather" roads, now!

The Constitution of 1902 that established qualifications for suffrage, established segregation in transportation and facilities, has been thrown out. Counties now raise limited amounts of their required income. Cherished local "government fundamentals" have declined in popular importance.

The Hughes Gold Mining and Milling Company that was operating early in this century, with Virginia's only cyanide recovery process, is of the past. In 1905 this mine had two shafts, a stamp mill and a gold furnacing unit.

Population of the county fell to 7,088 in 1940 but by the 1960 census it has shown an upturn to 7,227. This figure is less than it was a century before.

There have been so many events—World Wars I and II, the Korean "police action", and now, Southeast Asia. Mechanization has replaced the "Mule" on the farm, and the output of a single agricultural worker is twenty-fold or more than at the turn of the century.

Fork Union has grown into one of the Nation's leading Military schools.

Automobiles, telephones, electrification, radio and television, have changed our lives.

From Breemo Bluff (no longer Big Rock) electric power goes to serve Virginia. Gas Transmission lines cross the county.

A record of history can not omit the Prohibition Era or the Flaming Youth Era of the '20s (possibly comparable to the Beatles of today), the Depression of the '30's and the "alphabetical agencies", to say nothing of the radical political changes.

We can hardly realize that in :

July 16, 1945 the first atom bomb was exploded

In 1945—top airplane (jet) speed was 500 mph

In 1947—Space flight was forecast

In 1948—Atomic Powered Ships were predicted

In 1949—Color TV was demonstrated

In 1951—Direct Dialing came into telephone services

In 1952—The sonar (sound) systems of porpoises were projected

In 1952—First national political conventions were televised

In 1957—Prediction—man could hit the moon with a missile

In 1957—Birth control pills were on the market

In 1965—Over 600 man-made objects are now flying around in space

The Fluvanna Historical Society comes into being when history is being rapidly made. There is the trite and old story of the Washington taxi-driver explaining the inscription on the Archives Building: "What is Past is Prologue" he said, and I think his "translation" serves us today. An unusual and interesting book of history is well begun and great chapters are yet to be written. To you, The Fluvanna Historical Society, I lay down the challenge.

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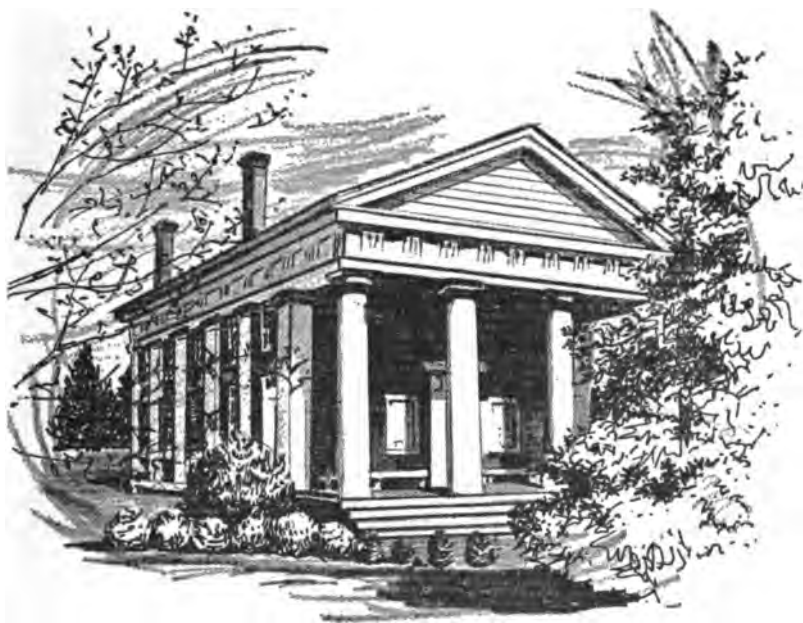
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The Bulletin of the
FLUVANNA COUNTY
Historical Society

NUMBERS 2 & 3

SEPTEMBER 1966



COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

Built in 1880

9. 1. 2

GLEANINGS OF FLUVANNA HISTORY

TAKEN FROM THE
NOTES FOR TALK TO
THE FLUVANNA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AT COLE'S TAVERN
WILMINGTON, VIRGINIA
SEPTEMBER 19, 1965

EDWIN COX

7 73

The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$1.50; a life membership costs \$25.00. A bulletin will be published twice a year. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The Society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: The Editor, Bulletin of the Historical Society, Palmyra, Virginia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

On September 19, 1965, the Fluvanna Historical Society met at Cole's Tavern, with General Edwin Cox as the guest speaker. General Cox had been asked to give a "running account" of the history of the county, all of which he did under the title of "Gleanings of Fluvanna History."

So successful was this speech that many of those who heard it clamored for copies but there were no copies—only "a book full of notes." If only we had made a tape-recording!

Realizing the importance for future historians interested in this material, we felt it should be published, and asked permission of General Cox to put his notes with his references into a form for publication in the 1966 issue of *The Bulletin*. He most generously agreed to this request.

We regret not having the literary skills with which we might have put into writing the brilliance of the speech as delivered, but we can hope that these printed "bare bones" will provide for our readers interesting information, some amusing "side-lights" as well as a degree of pride and pleasure in our "Fluvanna past."

We herewith present the "edited notes" of General Cox's speech, and wish to acknowledge the gratitude of the Fluvanna Historical Society for the use of this material.

THE EDITOR

INTRODUCTION OF THE SPEAKER

BY

NANCY BERCAW

General Edwin Cox was born in Richmond, Virginia and is a distinguished graduate of the Virginia Military Institute. He is a chemist, a chemical engineer and a farmer. He is a member of the Executive Committee of The Virginia Historical Society, and a former chairman of the Board of The Virginia State Library. General Cox lives now at Holly Hill in King & Queen County, Virginia.

He is connected with Fluvanna County through descent from early land patentees—Randolph, Cocke and Cary—and primarily through his wife, Virginia De Mott, granddaughter of Virginia Snead of Fork Union (Mrs. William E. Hatcher) and revisor of her grandmother's book, "Sneads of Fluvanna".

INDEX

	PAGE
Geology & Geography	1
First Families of Fluvanna	3
Metes and Bounds	4
Settlement of Fluvanna	6
First Settlers	8
The Revolution	12
Other Aspects of the Revolution	15
1781	17
Peace and Prosperity—and Depressions	20
The War of 1812	23
The Depression—The Panic of 1819	24
“Before The War”	26
The Civil War Period	29
Long Years 1865—1870	33
Three Decades—1870—1900	34
The Twentieth Century	36
References	39

Gleanings of Fluvanna History

INTRODUCTION

The Commonwealth of Virginia is fortunate that another local Historical Society has come into being. Democracy has to rest on sound foundations. Virginia gave to these United States certain principles of government. These principles are based on the local governments, the hustings and the hundreds. Without these bases the mass of government inevitably becomes totalitarian, and by sheer weight topples, and democracy will fall. Preservation of our heritage, revealed by history, will help to preserve these principles.

Also, there is much pleasure to be had in fitting together historical bits and pieces. Fact will be found to be more interesting than fiction. Perhaps you will find that "Grandma's knee is a nice, cozy place to learn about goblins and ghosts; even Santa Claus. But it's a mighty poor place to learn history."

Glean is a good old Angle-Saxon word meaning to gather scattered "bits"—and I have gleaned through eighty-nine reference works to gather what information I may be able to give you today. Dr. Samuel Johnson once commented, "Many a fool will go through a whole library to write one book." No, I have not written a book (are you relieved?), only a book full of notes from which I will speak today in an endeavor to briefly review the one hundred eighty-eight years of Fluvanna history.

GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

"Old Fluvanna" is truly old, rivalling the oldest of exposed land masses. Its geology and geography determined its history. The Wissahickon (good Indian word) schist (a metamorphic crystalline rock) is over 400,000,000 years in age and forms Fluvanna bed rock. It was old when the Blue Ridge was pushed up, and when the Alleghenies were under the sea. A few years later 300,000,000 years or so, a granite extrusion pushed up through the schist, that is now called *Columbian* granite (which takes its name from the Fluvanna site, Columbia.) Just west of Fluvanna there was a volcanic extrusion, stretching from southwest to northeast, that formed the greenstone belt. Some million years later in the Ordovician period there was formed a narrow lake (at about the present site of Bremono), dammed by the granite wall on the east and by the slate wall at Big Rock—now Bremono Bluff. The sediment in this trench-like lake was clay and through many years of metamorphosis formed the slate bed that stretches into the southern part of the county. These rocks are our oldest "written" records.

The schists and granite rocks were eroded over the millions of years and the soils that formed were the red and yellow Podzolic types. Through these years there was heavy erosion—more severe than in other parts of the physiographic provinces now making up Virginia. Only along the stream courses did the alluvium from the up-stream lands maintain a high fertility.

The junction of the branches of the James at Point of Fork is where the streams broke through the granite barrier. Here the Rivanna (North Fork) joined the Fluvanna (South Fork). The James River was called the Main, Powhatan or James only east of this point in Colonial days. Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1783: "This river is called in the maps James River only to its confluence with the Rivanna; thence to the Blue Ridge it is called the Fluvanna; and thence to its source, Jackson's River. But in common speech it is called James River to its source." (in the Alleghenies)

The plane of Fluvanna is tilted. Most of its area is drained by the Rivanna, but in the southwest mainly by the Hardware (and that name goes back to the 1730's), and in the tilted east mainly by the Byrd Creek (River). As seen from the air, the geological and geographical picture is quite clear. All of the names now in use appear on the Jefferson and Fry Map of 1755, except the James which was then called the Fluvanna.

FIRST FAMILIES OF FLUVANNA

We know these true F.F.F.'s mainly by artifacts. We do know that about two to three generations before the English arrived, western Indians displaced the earlier settlers. These "new comers" were termed by the Algonquins, Souian, (meaning simply "foreign language"). Where the Rivanna joined the Fluvanna was their center or "Rassawek". They were called Monacans or "diggingstick" people—probably a term of derision.

Some archeological studies have been made, and work done in this area, with some of the resulting artifacts being now in the possession of the Valentine Museum in Richmond. But we know all too little about the Monacans. Their strength was estimated at 1500 in 1607-1610; fell to 100 by 1669; and before 1700, they were nearly all gone. There is a single reference to the Indians in the records of the settlement of Fluvanna—a land patent in 1751 describing land at the head of Bremono Creek: "The line ran up to the head of the branch that (where) the Indian shot John Lawson at."

The recorded history makes no reference to Indian fighting in the County. The Monacans had silently departed before settlement by the white man had begun.

METES AND BOUNDS

In 1632, the original four Virginia "corporations" or cities, (Elizabeth City, James City, Charles City, Henry City) became shires or counties, containing varying numbers of Parishes, each Parish being divided into precincts that were not only ecclesiastical but political units as well. The "county ancestry" of Fluvanna is: Henrico (Henry City), the original corporation; Goochland erected in 1728, Albemarle in 1744, and Fluvanna was made a county in 1777 by act of the *House of Delegates*, of the independent Commonwealth of Virginia.

The first political unit comprising Fluvanna was St. James Parish of Henrico. It was in 1720, more than a hundred years after Jamestown before there was a political unit other than the original county or parish from which Fluvanna descended. In that year St. James Parish was created from the western part of Henrico. This new Parish, for a brief time, extended indefinitely westward—to the Western Sea, as was sometimes said.

When Albemarle was formed, what is now Fluvanna came into the new parish of St. Anne's, in which it remained until the new county of Fluvanna was created and then the names were taken—Fluvanna for the County and Rivanna for the Parish. These names were for the Rivers and not in any way for Queen Anne of England. In 1777, it was not the spirit of the Virginia Revolutionary to memorialize British Royalty.

In that year (1777) the General Assembly created two other new Virginia Counties; Powhatan (like Fluvanna), cut off from the eastern section of its parent, Cumberland, and Henry, named for the then governor, Patrick Henry. The previous General Assembly (1776) had created the counties of Ohio, Yohogania, Monongalia and Kentucky. The next General Assembly erected the Virginia County of Illinois.

Fluvanna boundaries were ably surveyed. Major William Mayo of Goochland, who surveyed the Virginia-North Carolina line, and laid out the towns of Richmond and Petersburg, ran the north boundary of Louisa-Goochland, and later extended it. The Goochland-Albemarle line was clearly fixed—"line north

30 degrees east extending from the Point of Fork to the Louisa County line." This line is now the eastern boundary of Fluvanna County.

The line on the northwest corner required an adjustment around Mechunk Creek, as the western boundary of Louisa. With the able surveyors Mayo, Fry, and Peter Jefferson, one can be sure this was exact. When Fluvanna was separated from Albemarle, the line was described as "beginning at the most western point on the line of Louisa County and then running directly to the lower edge of Scott's Ferry on the Fluvanna River." There was no allowance for any geographical anomaly. It was to be a straight line, which would bisect Scottsville. It is entirely by chance that the western boundary so closely parallels the eastern boundary at north 30 degrees east.

In 1784, the Parish as a political unit was abolished. The County Court took over the Parish functions. The "precinct" was a land unit. It was not a voting unit until a later Constitution. These Metes and Bounds continued until the Underwood Convention and Constitution of 1868 which did away with the proven Virginia system of County Courts, established Townships, and set up a new form of County Government. When the 1868 Constitution was finally ratified, the townships were Columbia, Palmyra, Fork Union, and Cunningham and these became later the present magisterial districts. The Board of Supervisors, popularly elected, replaced the County Court.

SETTLEMENT OF FLUVANNA

The popular concept that the settlement of new lands west of the Fall Line was by the rugged independent individualist, clearing his own small patches, is contrary to history. It is a legend, as is the columned antebellum homes surrounded by magnolias and plentiful slave labor, and service of juleps on vine-covered porches.

The first explorers up the James, the Fluvanna and Rivanna rivers are not recorded, excepting Captain Newport in 1607. The disappearance of the Indians had been recorded, and there being no Indian population, there was no trade nor trading posts; also, there was no land patented. In 1700, the Huguenot settlement was the upper river limit, and no Indian trouble occurred there.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Virginia population increased fourfold—58,000 to 230,000. Then came the westward push and treaties were made with the Western Indians, which they more honorably observed than did the colonists.

New land policies had been established by Governors Spotswood, Drysdale and Gooch. Rather than individual patents of "50 acres per headright", the system now allowed the receiving of "headrights" by the payment of five shillings to the Colonial treasury. Thus, large patents were issued to planters who had the resources to establish settlements into the Piedmont and across the Blue Ridge. With such patents, these individuals undertook the responsibility for settlement. But for many years, there was friction between these "land speculators" and the colonial government. "Speculator" is a misleading name in today's semantics. These colonial grantees were what today would be called "real-estate developers." They took land in wholesale quantities, made the essential initial investments—mills, "paths", glebes—and then resold, bringing in new settlers, hopefully at a profit. Inevitably, many lost at this game. But most of these Tidewater Virginians knew the requirements and were skilled in the business. Governor Gooch defended the advantages of this system: "Where the greatest tracts have been granted and possessed encouragement has thereby been given to the meaner sort of people

to seat themselves as it were under the shade and protection of the greater." Risks were financial rather than physical. The Indians were gone. "Beasts" were limited to a few wolves, that, rather than a threat, were a source of income through bounties. Probably many a gray fox was classed as a wolf to secure the bounty.

There were no "grants from the King". In Virginia, that troublesome device was limited to the Northern Neck and its Proprietary, which grant, by Charles II, had been bitterly contested. No right was cherished more by Virginia's General Assembly than the privilege of controlling land-ownership. Any title under a King's grant south of the Rappahannock is probably void. It is as un-Virginian as sugar in batterbread.

Patent books show the way in which the land was taken up. The families most interested in developing the Fluvanna and Rivanna lands seemed to have been those seated below the Falls and on the Curles of the James. Nearly half of the patentees were first or second cousins. They picked the rich lands along the streams. Mapping these land patents—and then filling in the gaps—is most interesting.

In the northwest of what is now Fluvanna county, there were patentees from the Rappahannock some of whom were also pushing into the Valley, which was being settled even before the Rivanna and Fluvanna country because of population pressure. The 20 square mile grant to Nicholas Meriweather on the Rappahannock included part of Mechunk Creek. Descendants and kinsmen and neighbors of William Randolph and Mary Isham—called the Adam and Eve of Virginia—pushed up the Fluvanna and Rivanna. The two largest first patentees were brothers-in-law—Cary and Cocke. Others followed: "Bollings", "Carters", "Eppes", "Pages", "Carys". In many instances, buying land rather than patenting it, was simpler and maybe cheaper for smaller investors. Many of the patents of Fluvanna are recorded in Louisa and Goochland Courthouses.

The only plea for "protection" in this period came from citizens being persecuted by horse-thieves who had "established themselves into a confederacy for carrying on their business, passing their stolen horses to agents further off for sale." They remain unnamed.

FIRST SETTLERS

Among the first settlers one meets many interesting Virginians. The Burgesses: Richard Randolph, John Bolling, John Fleming, Dudley Digges, James Holman, Isham Randolph, Edward Scott (Scottsville), Alan Howard (Howardsville), Peter Jefferson, etc. The surveyors stand out: Joshua Fry, (professor of William and Mary, first Burgess from Albemarle, and commander of the First Virginia Regiment, (at whose death Washington succeeded), Peter Jefferson, William Mayo. William Cabell and Thomas Walker were able doctors, surveyors, and explorers. All of these were representatives of what now comprises Fluvanna County.

Joseph Thompson, justice, first sheriff of Albemarle, and militia captain, ran one of Fluvanna's first taverns near now Palmyra. He was an early patentee and a leader of the community. Giles Allegre, son-in-law of Goochland's first clerk, ran the tavern on Mechunk. His daughter married the young Swiss, Albert Gallatin, who became Secretary of the Treasury, and who did much to establish U. S. currency on a sound basis.

John Nicholas, son of George Nicholas of Williamsburg, who in 1729 patented James River land, succeeded William Randolph (non-resident) as first clerk of Albemarle (in 1750). He served for 42 years. His lands were just on the southwest boundary, or just out of it. His brother was Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of the Colony. An interesting story about this gentleman was that when quite advanced in years he fought a duel with Thomas Mann Randolph, one-time Governor of Virginia, and thereafter wore the hat that Randolph's bullet had pierced. Incidentally, they were cousins.

There were other settlers. David Riese had a "piece bit out of his left ear". He, Patrick Nowlin, John and Stephen Heard had to appear before the Court and testify that it was in a "fair" fight. The court records had to show this; otherwise David would have been thought to have been branded a felon.

Martin King and Martin King, Jr., were good road builders. Their name was given to the Martin King road. But they got in trouble with the Court, and Martin King was placed in cus-

today "for a year". His son and James Fenley were placed in stocks. Earlier James Fenley won a suit against Samuel Stephens but Stephens chose a whipping rather than imprisonment and Captain Thompson had to administer twenty-one lashes. As Captain Thompson was one who had adjudged Fenley, it is doubted if the lashes were severe.

George McDaniel enlists sympathy. He was fined for swearing "two oaths in two months".

The Parsons that served now-Fluvanna were interesting men. Mr. Becket seems to have been the first. A description of him has come down to us: "Mr. Becket is a man of strong constitution; loves drink perhaps too well; and living in the Northern Neck where drinking and boxing is too much in fashion has been tempted to quarrel; for being unpolished he is bold and hardy in his temper; and has not yet learned to turn his other cheek. But with this he is constant in the discharge of his duty." The register shows he well attended to his duties. There were troubles with the parson's wife, one of the larger landholder's wives writing "how the parish minister was hampered by his wife who made herself ridiculous by trying to be a fine lady."

Anthony Gavin followed Mr. Becket. He was of Spanish birth, had been a Jesuit, and then ordained. His letter to the Bishop of London, 5 August 1738, is one of the first descriptions of Fluvanna: ". . . hearing that a frontier parish was vacant and that the people of the mountains had never seen a clergyman since they were settled there, I desired the Governor's consent to leave an easy parish for this I do now serve. I have three churches, twenty-three and twenty-four miles from the Glebe, in which I officiate every third Sunday, and besides these I have seven places of service up in the mountains where the clerks read prayers—four clerks in the seven places. I go twice a year to preach in twelve places which I reckon better than four hundred miles backward and forward and ford nineteen times the North and South Rivers. (Note: these are the Fluvanna and Rivanna) I have taken four trips already and the 20th instant I go up again. In my first journey, I baptized white people 209; blacks 172; Quakers 15; and Anabaptists 2." Parson Gavin was a dedicated Missioner. The ratio of white/black baptisms is of interest, and also the "seg-

regation" of Quakers and Anabaptists. The site of the lower colonial church in Fluvanna should be determined.

The Reverend Robert Rose followed Parson Gavin. He was a gifted and versatile man. He came to Saint Anne's Parish when it was created and probably named it as he had come from St. Anne's in Essex. "Like a patriarch of old he set out with his sheep, cattle, servants and family for his new home."

His diary is probably the best reference to Fluvanna in those formative years. He was not only an active Parson, riding hundreds of miles, a surveyor, a large patentee, the originator of the Rose method of transporting tobacco by fastening two canoes together, a builder of large shops, but also he was a leader of his community and an adviser to his Governor. He died on a trip to the Tidewater and is buried at St. John's in Richmond. One interesting reference in his diary tells of visiting a parishioner and of "drinking his whiskey which I think is a poor substitute for claret".

John Ramsey succeeded Parson Rose and served for fifteen years. He "seems" to have gotten in trouble, as after fifteen years of service he was tried for "Neglect of duty and Adultery." The spice can not be given. Presumably he died before sentence could be passed.

Roads, Mills, Ordinaries were quickly established. The roads have been described in the Sketchbook: Bremo, Martin King's, Secretary. The Stage Road came west from Goochland, through Wilmington, (with a cut-off to Columbia behind the granite ridge), and passed by Allegre's Tavern on Mechuck. Until Rose's development of the double canoe, tobacco (both the money crop and "currency") had to be rolled down to Westham and Richmond, the closest warehouses. Rose's "invention" opened up the river traffic, as several hogsheads could then be floated down at one time and supplies poled upwards.

There is a recorded story of a certain man making this trip, carrying his tobacco and his other portable money product to market. He "had consumed too much of the whiskey and forgot to land at Westham. He rode his canoe, tobacco and all over the Falls. Shortly thereafter he was fished from the water downstream, wet and frightened, but sober."

In these colonial days, there were no dams on the rivers. Fish "ran" up the Fluvanna and Rivanna—shad, herring and

rock. The rivers were clear. The little shallow plowing had not eroded the soil, muddied the waters, or filled the rivers with silt.

There was a textile industry using the local wool, and William Nelson of Yorktown wrote: "I now wear a good suit of cloth of my own son's wool manufacture as well as my shirts in Albemarle." This is thought to have been Union Mills.

Colonial Mansions were not built in Fluvanna; The Mansion period came later. The houses first built were the typical A-roofed Virginia cottages which are called by the Williamsburg architects "Medieval Transitional", but best described by Dr. George Bagby in "Uncle Flatback's Plantation".

The Colony fought two wars in this Period of Settlement. Sons from the Fluvanna and Rivanna moved out to the Ohio. There was the growing challenge of total authority two centuries ago. Colonists were "descendants of Englishmen who by their own consent and at the expense of their own blood and treasure had settled the Colony for the aggrandisement of the present kingdom" and "Under an English Government all men are born free, are only subject to laws made by their own consent, and can not be deprived of these laws without a transgression of them."

The author of this protest in 1765 was the brother-in-law of a large land holder of what is now Fluvanna, and the kinsman of many. He spoke for the people of Fluvanna, their feelings then and now.

THE REVOLUTION

In 1767, a young lawyer in his early twenties rode back through Fluvanna after graduating from the College of William and Mary and studying law under George Wythe. The old Stage Road was a familiar route to him, leading from his father's lands at Shadwell, to his mother's home at Tuckahoe. His surveyor father, who was now dead, had probably laid it out. Often in the future, he would ride that road from his new home, Monticello, to the lands he bought just over the Goochland line at Elk-Hill—and there *are two* Elk Hills.

Young Thomas Jefferson had probably been present when the General Assembly in 1765 had passed the Act: "For clearing the great falls of the James River, the river Chickahominy, and the north branch of the James River" (Rivanna). The General Assembly resolved, but now it was up to undertakers to carry out the plans and, as a trustee, clearing the Rivanna was one of Jefferson's first tasks. "To the best of his knowledge no hogsheads of tobacco had been transported on the North Branch of the James to the junction with the larger stream." He vigorously led in remedying this situation. Many years later, before being elected President, Jefferson drew up a list of "undertakings" as he asked himself whether "his country was the better for his having lived." This improvement of the Rivanna was the first item on his list.

There was another result and reward to this. In 1768, an election of a new House of Burgesses was ordered by the new Governor, Norbonne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt. From Albemarle there were three candidates. One was Dr. Thomas Walker of "Castle Hill", explorer, doctor, surveyor. The second was Edward Carter, son of John Carter (the Colonial Secretary for whom the Secretary Ford and Secretary Road were named, and a grandson of "King" Carter.) They were the incumbents. The third candidate was the young red-headed attorney, only twenty-five years old with one year's practice of law behind him. Walker appeared certain of election. Carter and Jefferson, not as certain, supplied the electors with rum, in accordance with the practice of "swilling the planters with

bimbo". Jefferson records that he provided "drinks and cakes". In a close election, Jefferson defeated Carter. One wonders what would have been the course of history had the election by the freeholders of Albemarle turned out differently. Probably the deciding factor was the vote from the eastern section of Albemarle in return for his work on the Rivanna. This was one of the greatest services rendered to Virginia and to our Nation.

In 1771 there was catastrophe; a great freshet swept away the new mills along the Rivanna, flooded low grounds, and ruined crops. Large landowners, burdened by British debts, had to dispose of acreages. There was a heavy turnover in Fluvanna lands. New names appear. One of them was David Ross, Scotsman, trader, and miller, who, in time, became a major supplier of war materials in the Revolution.

In 1775, Minutemen were formed into a company. Frederick Wills and Patrick Napier, corporals, seem to have certainly been from this section of Albemarle that became Fluvanna. Eighteen of the Minuteman Company marched on Williamsburg, returned, and then on July 11, 1775, twenty-seven marched back again.

Albemarle was called on for two companies. They trained at Rockfish Gap and then moved to the Continental Line. Some of these Fluvanna troops were sent out to garrison Fort Henry (now Wheeling) for the protection of the Northwestern frontier. Others went to the Northern Theater.

As in all wars, there was the problem of men and materials. Substitutes were used when conscription had to be enforced. Davis Ross and Charles Lynch (the latter a son of a Fluvanna patentee) were in charge of lead procurement. The early years of the War left what is now Fluvanna unscarred, save for the sacrifice of her sons and economic disruption. Wartime inflation was on. Tobacco, although there was a limited market, tripled in price, and tobacco was the currency. Those who had "capital" saw their relative values fall. Those who owed money could pay off debts. There were many changes, economic as well as governmental.

In 1777, the new county was formed, named for its Rivers. The boundaries included "the Islands in the Fluvanna". The County Court was elected by the legislature.

Wilson Miles Cary, senior member of the Quorum, was presiding justice and the first officer of the new county. He was from the lower Rivanna. The Thompson brothers, George and Roger, were from the center of the county, near now Palmyra. They were sons of Joseph Thompson, the sheriff and one of the original justices of Albemarle. Martin Key with lands in the northwest of Fluvanna became the first Sheriff. He was a son of John Key who had been justice of Albemarle. William Henry, brother of the Governor, Patrick Henry, had lands on the Hardware. Jesse Burton was from the northeast section of the county, son of an early settler in Goochland and of a family active in the then new Baptist denomination.

John Ware from the eastern part of the county, was the son of an early Goochland patentee. Thomas Napier from the central part of the county was also of "Goochland stock", and brother of Patrick Napier of the Minutemen. The House of Delegates distributed and made diverse the Court of the new County.

Martin Key became Sheriff, the second officer of the County; William Henry went to the House of Delegates as Delegate of the new County; Thomas Napier was designated County Lieutenant, in command of the Militia. The population of the new county is estimated to have been 2500 or slightly more and probably 200 to 225 families. Many were away at the "wars".

John Timberlake, with the approval of the Governor, was appointed the first county clerk. He faithfully served the county for 41 years until he died in 1820, at the age of 89.

John Timberlake should certainly be honored for his own distinguished service, but he will be remembered also for being the brother-in-law of Peggy O'Neal (Mrs. James Timberlake), who was a contributing cause of a political furor during the administration of President Andrew Jackson, and whose name is memorialized in the well-known song "That's Peggy O'Neal". She was a great beauty.

The County of Fluvanna was in being, and a trying period it was.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION

With the spirit of the Revolution, there came dissatisfaction with the prevailing "religious" organization—or lack of same. Vestries had, to a great extent, been self-perpetuating; their authority had extended to secular matters. Now, domination by any group was resented. For a generation, in Louisa to the north, and Cumberland to the south, there had been strong congregations of Presbyterians. In Louisa and in Albemarle there were Quaker meetings (see above: Parson Gavin). In the 1770's, the Baptist movement had come down from the North and was strong in the area east of the Rivanna. The Toleration Act assured freedom of worship but the dual temporal-spiritual authority of the Vestries was challenged, and there was the issue of separation of church and state.

On 22 October 1776 there was a meeting of representatives from Albemarle (including Fluvanna), Buckingham and Amherst counties. A memorial was drawn up to the "Delegates and Senators" of the Commonwealth stating that "being Dissenters from the Church of England they had not been in equal footing with other good people of this colony" and that all religious denominations should be placed on an equal footing. Many citizens of Fluvanna were at this meeting including Thomas Napier, Thomas Pemberton, Walter Leake and John Harris. The Burton family also were leaders of this movement.

On May 18, 1779, an outstanding historical event occurred in Fluvanna. The war had disrupted religious services. Many Ministers of the Church of England were loyal to the Crown and not acceptable to rebel congregations. Many Parishes were without clergy and vestries were depleted by military service. The Reverend Devereaux Jarratt and the evangelism of Francis Asbury had awakened religious feelings. The "lay preachers" were trying to carry on without "an organization". There was a meeting held at Brokenback Church, the upper church of Fluvanna, and resolutions were adopted that would permit ordination of the members of this conference and so empower them to celebrate the ordinances of their religion. The ordination took place and "More than three score went

back to their circuits in Virginia and the Carolinas and began at once to administer the sacraments to the comfort and satisfaction of their own people." This was one of the most significant events of the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Records of Fluvanna are free of any reference to troublous religious differences. With the disestablishment of the Church of England in 1784, both the lower church (site unknown) and Brokenback Church fell into disrepair. It is interesting that the "parish funds" of St. Anne's Parish went toward the establishment of the University of Virginia, and are so listed. From then on "denominations" shared houses of worship, and in the area of the "Fork" (between the James and Cunningham Creek), a brick church was built in 1824 called "Brick Union". Four denominations worshipped there. It was later called "Fork Union".

In 1800 the Committee of Correspondence met in Lyles Baptist Church at Wilmington. It was at this meeting that the General Meeting of Correspondence of the United Baptist Association in Virginia was adopted by a large majority. This preceded and led to the General Association.

Fluvanna was the site in large measure of the establishment of both the Methodist and Baptist denominations in the Commonwealth.

1781 was a fateful year. It had been six years since the Minutemen marched on Williamsburg. Fluvanna soldiers had fought the campaigns in the Northern Colonies and in the Northwest until George Rogers Clark destroyed the Shawnee capital. Some had been discharged but others were with Greene's Continental Armies in the Carolinas. Times were dark. George Washington on the Hudson wrote: "We seem to be verging so fast in destruction that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger till within these three months." Benedict Arnold, commanding British Forces, had ravaged Tidewater Virginia; the British had destroyed the Continental Base in Chesterfield where Baron von Steuben had been collecting men and supplies for Greene's Army. Leaving Chesterfield, April 27, Phillips and Arnold had converged on Warwick and Richmond, razed the first and captured the works and laboratory at Westham. Von Steuben moved his base, with what supplies he could evacuate, to Point of Fork, and this became the supply base, not only for Virginia's own defense, but for Greene's Army. It also supplied George Rogers Clark's 1781 campaign against Detroit.

The economic condition is hard to picture. All supplies, except on-site food, were critical. David Ross of Fluvanna was responsible for mining and securing the necessary lead. Currency had depreciated so much that tobacco was worth 2,000 shillings per cwt.—if it could be gotten to market. The Virginia Assembly fixed the price of a cavalry horse (\$150 hard money) at \$150,000. This was the "Ravaging of Virginia". Damage was estimated at three million pounds (hard money)—billions continental money. Further, there was an intense feud between Governor Jefferson and Von Steuben. The Virginia defense forces consisted of three small units under Lafayette and the hastily constituted militia brigades of Nelson and Muehlenberg. They were far outnumbered by the well-trained and well-armed British. Jefferson ordered the draft to be rigidly enforced which added nothing to his popularity in this period of defeat. Calls for help were unheeded.

"Virginia, then impoverished by defending the Northern Department, exhausted by the Southern War, now finds the full weight of it upon her shoulders."

On May 13, General Phillips, who had succeeded Benedict Arnold, died at Petersburg. On May 20 Cornwallis arrived there with a brigade of guards, parts of four British regiments, a Hessian regiment, Hamilton's Tories, and Tarleton's Legion. He not only assumed command but reinforced Phillips' force of four regiments—the 76th, the 80th, the Queen's Rangers, and the American Legion.

The war now moved to Fluvanna.

Cornwallis advanced west immediately. Within 10 days Colonel Simcoe with his Queen's Rangers (Tory—not British—cavalry) and the 2nd Battalion of the 71st Regiment of the Line were at Point of Fork. Fluvanna was invaded. Von Steuben, having moved to Point of Fork less than five weeks before, now again moved what supplies he could to the south over the James (Fluvanna) and retreated to the West.

On June 4, from Louisa, Cornwallis sent young Major Tarleton to seek to capture the Virginia Assembly and Governor Jefferson. It is well known how Jack Jouett, Jr., son of the Charlottesville tavern keeper, rode from Cuckoo to Monticello. He took a "disused and shorter route". Did it come through Fluvanna? Geographically it would have. Cornwallis, meanwhile, moved to Elk Hill, Jefferson's plantation on the eastern edge of Fluvanna. Tarleton withdrew across Fluvanna from Charlottesville. Until June 12, Cornwallis remained at Elk Hill. We must assume eastern Fluvanna was ravaged; Elk Hill certainly was. By June 20 Cornwallis had withdrawn to Richmond.

Now there is a sudden shift of scenes. At Mechunk, the young Lafayette (incidentally in his first and only campaign) with his 800 Continentals, was reinforced by Anthony Wayne with 750 Continentals from Pennsylvania, the Virginia brigades of Stevens and Lawson, Campbell's brigade from Southwest Virginia and Von Steuben's hastily trained recruits and discharged soldiers under Colonel Febiger. On Mechunk in Fluvanna the army was formed that pursued Cornwallis. The campaign that led to Yorktown began here. Within four months there came the glorious victory.

There was sadness, though. Despite the beginning of the successful campaign, Jefferson completed his term of office in disgrace and under investigation. Though that investigation, made by those hostile to Jefferson, clearly revealed the fault could not be charged to him, Jefferson withdrew from Virginia public life unfairly accused. His next sphere of achievement would be in the Confederation.

The War did not end for Fluvanna at Yorktown. The Point of Fork Depot, with recovered supplies and captured war material, continued to be the southern supply base. War material was now plentiful; there was no threat; victory had been achieved. Peace was on the way.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY—AND DEPRESSIONS

The generation 1780's—1810's, was an interesting one in the U. S., in Virginia and in Fluvanna history. Events moved fast. From the surrender at Yorktown in October 1781 to 1788, Virginia had largely recovered from The Ravaging. When Governor Benjamin Harrison took office, there were "but four shillings in the Treasury". Thirty thousand slaves had been lost, towns and villages burned. Eighteen months later Virginia had given 123,000 Virginia pounds, as well as much goods, to the Confederation and to the Northwest territories. She had recreated her Army and Navy and refinanced her own government. One of the first acts of the Commonwealth had been to reestablish the pound sterling as currency instead of the worthless continental dollar. Tobacco export had soared to 86,000,000 pounds at the price of 40 shillings a hundredweight in hard Virginia money. This brave chapter is generally unsung!

These were bright and hopeful days along the Fluvanna and Rivanna, and were often to be looked back upon. At Point of Fork, now the State Arsenal, barracks were built and from here Colonel Peyton commanded the First Virginia Regiment. In 1785 Point of Fork was among the first of three tobacco inspection markets to be established west of the Fall Line; others were at Lynch's Ferry (now Lynchburg) and at Crow's Ferry, the head of navigation on the James. A Canal Company was chartered to develop navigation of the James. General Washington accepted the Presidency of the Canal Company but Edmund Randolph, soon to become first Attorney-General, was the administrative head. David Ross, John Harvie and William Cabell were directors. A dam was duly built across the James, (a discouraging result of which "progress" being that shad, herring and rock fish could no longer make their annual run up the river). The Rivanna was cleared but transportation was limited to batteaux.

In 1788, during the boom, Point of Fork was chartered as a town; streets were laid out and lots were sold. In keeping with the terms and the adoption of the Constitution the town

was named "Columbia". It was to have been a great center. Incidentally, it was this "spirit of growth" and not legislative action, that led to the legend that the Capital might be at Columbia rather than its already well established location at Richmond.

One of the first families to settle here was that of Christian Wertenbaker, whose descendants gave so much to Virginia education. In June 1788, the year of the establishment of Columbia, Virginia (with reservations) adopted the Constitution, voting 89 to 79. Change was immediate.

The dollar again replaced the sound Virginia shilling. Tobacco prices fell sharply due to the "Morris" monopoly on tobacco export. Jefferson wrote, "The monopoly of the purchase of tobacco for France had thrown the commerce of that article into agonies." The Hamiltonian finance system placed heavy penalties on Virginia and further, Virginia planters who had paid their British debts to the Commonwealth in order to finance the Revolution, had now to pay them again. The landed families lost heavily. Senator Giles stated that the New England States and north, proposed to make the "Southern States a Milch cow out of which the substance would be extracted", and a neighboring county memorialized, "It is time to determine whether the people of America, in throwing off the yoke of England, had no object than to place it again on their necks. Had the pleasure and treasure of the people been expended only to expose them to a new flock of harpies more ravenous because more lean?"

This Federal depression struck Fluvanna a hard blow. The Arsenal was closed. The canal was not built for another half century and only after the Erie Canal had gone through.

In the first census, the county had a population of 3,922. Some lands had not been patented and could now come only from the Land Office. Samples of Commodity Prices in Virginia currency were as follows :

In Lbs.—Houses, 20-25; "second rate" houses, 12-20; Oxen, pair 8-15 (the working beasts) ; Steers, 2.5-3; Milch Cows, good, 5.

In shillings—Hogs, 12-15; Sheep, 6-15; Geese and Turkeys, 2; Wheat, 4½ a bushel; Corn, 2 shilling a bushel.

In 1800 the "Virginia Dynasty" came into Federal power.

Times improved. This was the second boom period. Building of the first Fluvanna mansions began in this period. Mills were built. There were not only custom mills but merchant mills for export. Four grades were "fine", "superfine", "middlings" and for the feeds, "Shipstuff" or "Bran" for local usage. Virginia and Fluvanna flour moved south "across the Equator" and was said to be the only flour of a quality to stand this. Virginia law required Virginia inspection and grading of all products—not only tobacco and flour, but corn, beef, pork, and timber.

Mills needed water power. Dams were built across the Rivanna. The Rivanna Navigation Company was chartered in 1810. Locks were built around the dams. The river was broadened and dredged. This antedated the James River and Kanawha Canal by a generation. With the water power came textile mills, using not only wool but also local cotton. The Magruder family of Maryland built the Union Mills, this family being antecedents of the Confederate General John Bankhead Magruder and the Bankheads of Alabama (U. S. Senator and Speaker of the House)—and, not to be omitted, Tallulah Bankhead.

The Stagecoach road was the route from Richmond to the west. Along this road there were the many noted Fluvanna taverns.

THE WAR OF 1812

The war came but spared Fluvanna. General John Hartwell Cocke commanded one of the four Virginia Brigades. In this brigade there were the Fluvanna companies. A rugged discipline was enforced, maybe inspired by and surpassing that of Von Steuben. In his "Twelve Virginia Counties", John Gwathmey cites two examples of discipline at the training center at Camp Carter in Louisa: "In punishing a soldier who did kick and break the jawbone of another, an item of the meted punishment was that on the ninth day he shall be put in the pillory and there remain one-half hour and on the tenth day he shall be drummed from the right to left of the Brigade with his crime described in large letters upon him; and finally, his ration of whiskey stopped for twenty days." A second soldier, accused of "stabbing", was placed in the pillory and would "receive while there, on his bare posterior, fifteen cobbs, which shall be executed with a paddle made for that purpose with a number of holes bored through the end."

General Cocke achieved a highly disciplined and trained Brigade. This brigade was assigned to the defense of Richmond when the British entry into the Chesapeake was assumed to be a threat against Virginia's capital. Times were not good. A surgeon on General Cocke's staff, Dr. Thomas Massie, complained; "The best way of disposing of any kind of grain is to distill it into whiskey. That liquor, I am *informed*, being worth 90 cents per gallon. Wheat and flour are worth nothing at present." Interesting records as to this use of Fluvanna's grain are found at the County Court House. But such practice did not follow the later teachings of our rugged disciplinarian, General Cocke, who in 1828 joined "The Sons of Temperance."

THE DEPRESSION—PANIC OF 1819

The short boom following the War of 1812 was followed by a depression equalling that of a little over a century later. Values fell to one-third of those of 1816-17. There was a depression of spirit as well as of values.

The James River Canal, longed for by the people of Fluvanna, could not proceed. It became forfeit to the Virginia Board of Public Works, a relief measure of 1816. The Attorney General entered suit against the company in 1818 and title passed to the Commonwealth February 17, 1820. The James River Canal, which had deprived Fluvanna of bountiful fishing, was limited to the passage from Westham to Richmond. Batteaux had to continue to carry the tobacco and freight down the James, dunking half of it. The dream faded. "Prices of wheat, corn and tobacco fell to new lows"; "All of our most independent men seem to be running to the west."

New building ceased. The mills lost their volume and once prosperous mill-sites fell to a custom-mill level. Virginia cotton could not compete with that of the new Southern States. Possibly, as an outcome of the depression, there was the new Constitution of 1828, which broadened the suffrage and authorized some elections of county officers.

In this depression there was the bright spot of the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette. He was not the youthful leader in his first independent campaign; he was now an aged man, who had been imprisoned and then exiled, although a leader of democratic government in France. He wanted to once again visit the scenes of his youthful ventures. He came to Norfolk and then to Richmond, October 26, 1824, attended a series of parties each day, a trip to Petersburg on the 29th, then back to Richmond. On November 2nd he was escorted to Goochland, and there was given a party with many "eloquent and expressive toasts". On the morning of November 3rd, he was escorted by the Goochland Troop, under Colonel William Bolling, to Columbia and was there welcomed by General John H. Cocke. The old Marquis must have been weary.

After a rest (and it could not have been long) he was drawn

in a coach by "four English stallions of true hunters breed" to Wilmington in an hour and five minutes. In a coach, over November roads of 1824, that must have been a rugged physical experience (hunters don't make good coach horses—nor do stallions). There at Cole's (then Will's) Tavern, he greeted his old war comrades, "upwards of thirty revolutionary soldiers" (they were then dying out). There followed a dinner with one hundred and twenty sitting down to table. It was on November 11th and that the distinguished general was met at the Albemarle county line by the "Lafayette Guards" and was escorted to Monticello where Mr. Jefferson, far advanced in years, with "tottering steps", descended to meet him. Their greetings were: "Lafayette"—"Jefferson" . . . and a warm embrace.

On his tour, Lafayette repeatedly toasted, "To Mechunk!" Probably few knew its significance. One wonders . . . did the old soldier ever get back to "Mechunk" where his early command of a few hundred men had risen to thousands? His route to Monticello had by-passed it, as had his route from Monticello to Montpelier where he visited Mr. Madison.

Maybe General Lafayette felt as did his great grandson some 107 years later, when that also-elderly French soldier had been through a week of Virginia entertainment. It was early on a misty, cold, October morning in 1931, on the York River, when aides were awaiting "the high brass" to whom they were assigned, and General the Count de Chambrun was awaiting Marshal Petain. Some of the then "wine of the country" was brought forth—"water-white fruit of corn". Thinking it was a simple "vin blanc" the pink-faced and thoroughly chilled Count gulped it down (as had others) and then exploded in clear Military French, "My god! What a wine! What a country!"

Far too slowly the depression of the 1820's wore out. On March 16, 1832, the James River Canal Company again became a private venture, but with the State retaining sixty per cent of the stock. However, the first meeting of the new company did not take place until May 25, 1835.

"BEFORE THE WAR"

The quarter century preceding 1860 were years, generally speaking, of happiness and prosperity. There was the Mexican War but that was far away. Relative prosperity had returned to Virginia. There was a new agriculture. There were new plows that, with teams of oxen, could plow deep. Marl, and later, Guano could replenish the soil. It was truly said that the Maryland and Virginia farmer "in these middle decades had solved problems greater than those presented to any other part of the nation and from him more could be learned of future importance than from other farmers in the nation." Cyrus McCormick developed the Virginia Reaper and was "compelled to wagon his reapers from his Forge in Rockbridge County down the turnpike to Scottsville whence they were shipped by canal to Richmond, by sea to New Orleans, and thence up the Mississippi and Ohio to their destination."

Under the new management, the James River and Kanawha Canal had been finished. General John H. Cocke was one of the eight directors. Simon W. Wright was the assistant engineer in charge of the section from Scottsville to Maiden's Adventure. It is interesting to note that in these late 1830's, the lands of the entire passage of the canal through Fluvanna were held by only eight landowners; west to east they were:

Hart V. Tutwiler
John Johnson's heirs
Edward A. Ancell
John H. Cocke
John H. Toney
William Woodson
William Galt
James Galt

Another interesting point in this prosperous period, that denies most popular understanding, was that "Slave labor proving inadequate and *workers* scarce, German and Scotch employees were induced to come to work on the canal." In fact, in 1831-32, the General Assembly of Virginia had again

decried slavery, (Virginia had sought to prohibit slavery in 1788), and only by a vote of seven had the move to abolish slavery been defeated. The reason for its defeat was "that to pay values would absorb all our present means".

In July 1840 water was let into the canal from Seven Islands (Shores) to Westham. Sixty five years had elapsed since its initiation. On December 3rd, the freight boat "General Harrison" ascended the canal to Lynchburg. But with the canal's completion, it was obsolete. The railroad had reached Louisa in 1835 and was soon extended to Charlottesville. The canal could compete only on heavy freight and by 1860 there was a plan to replace the canal with the James River railroad. The Rivanna Canal from Rivanna Mills to Columbia was rebuilt in this period—50 feet wide at the waterline. The Rivanna Mills were again grinding and in "merchant" volumes.

In this period of growing prosperity there was a decision to build a new Court House. The present site, Palmyra, was chosen by elections. The Gazetteer of 1836 described the new courthouse and the townsite of Palmyra which was surveyed in 1854. Who facetiously named it for the beautiful city in the Desert? Is there any connection between persimmons and dates?

In 1832 there came a "Gold Rush". That metal was found in the granite extrusion in the eastern part of the county. The Tellurium Mine (but there was no tellurium) on the eastern border of the county was discovered in 1832 and was mined until 1857. It yielded over \$1,000,000. The *Bowles* Mine was one-half mile from the Tellurium. The *Page* Mine was one-half mile west of Wilmington. The *Hughes* Mine was five miles north of Brema (and operated into the twentieth century). The *Snead* Mine was two miles north of Fork Union. William Barton Rogers, later founder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, prospected and wrote reports on these mines.

In this period of change, post offices (with the new postal system) dotted the county. Newspapers came into general distribution. The Constitution of 1850 gave suffrage to every white male citizen over twenty-one and for the first time these men could vote for the Governor (previously elected by the General Assembly), as well as for the County justices. Schools

and Academies were established, good houses were built, plantations were generally improved.

These were happy years for Fluvanna. Dr. George Bagby described it more accurately than the "moonlight—roses" writers when he wrote: "I do know, as I know nothing else, that the first years of human life, and the last, yea, if it be possible, all the years, should be passed in the country. The towns may do for a day, a week, a month at most, but nature, mother nature, pure and clean, is for all time; yes for eternity itself."

Virginia's economy was agricultural in contrast to the industrial northeast, but it was not a slave economy. The Commonwealth *and* the County were aghast when John Brown raided Harper's Ferry and Fluvanna's Regiment of Militia was readied as the 12th Militia Regiment under Colonel Cary Charles Cocke. The State was angered at the reactions of the northern states, and dismayed when the Cotton States seceded. This was the end of an era.

THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

For "four long and arduous years" the Commonwealth of Virginia has commemorated the Civil War and probably little can be added to these records. There are few "gleanings" set forth in this period, and those are in brief form.

In early 1861 or before, as events moved frightenly fast, many young men of Fluvanna were forming themselves into two volunteer companies, separate from the Militia. Apparently they were "locally uniformed and armed." One of these companies met at the "courthouse" and elected Captain Robert H. Poore its Captain. The other company drilled at Scottsville. The Palmyra Company chose the name of Fluvanna Rifle Guard while the Scottsville Company, of both Fluvanna and Albemarle men, named their company the Scottsville Guard. "Two weeks" before the County was to vote on Secession, these two companies moved out. The Fluvanna Rifle Guard went to the "mobilization center" at Richmond on May 10 and then to the critical defenses of Norfolk. The Scottsville Guard, on May 11, moved to Manassas. The Fluvanna Rifle Guard became Company C of the 14th Virginia, regimented with companies from Chesterfield, Amelia, Halifax, Mecklenburg and Bedford counties. Colonel James G. Hodges was the regimental commander and the regiment went into Armistead's Brigade and later into Pickett's Division. The Scottsville Guard went into the 19th Virginia at Manassas, commanded successively by: Fluvanna's Colonel Philip St. George Cocke, Colonel Rust, and John Bowie Strange of Fluvanna . . . the cadet who first relieved the Arsenal guard at VMI. This regiment was in the brigade commanded by General Garnett and also in Pickett's division. These regiments—the 14th and 19th Virginia—were great regiments of the Army of Northern Virginia. On July 3, 1863, both were in the assault on Cemetery Ridge. Armistead's Brigade, crossing the stonewall, lost in action its brigade commander. The 19th Virginia lost Fluvanna's son, Colonel Strange at South Mountain in 1862. Henry Gantt, captain of the Scottsville Guard, became regimental commander.

The Ordinance of Secession was ratified on May 23, 1861.

Immediately three other infantry companies were formed. On May 20, the *Fluvanna Hornets* were organized in the area of Wilmington, at Kent's Store, with Thomas K. Weisiger as Captain. In the northeastern corner of the county the *Ambler Greys* was organized on June 8, by men from "Goochland, Louisa, Fluvanna, and Hanover" and they elected Captain Joseph L. Shelton to be their Captain. In the Fork, or southwest of the County, the *Fluvanna Guards* were organized on June 11 and elected David W. Anderson as Captain. These three volunteer companies hastily assembled and quickly armed, learned war in the hard school of experience. They became Companies D (Ambler Greys), F (Hornets), K (Guard) of the 44th Virginia and under command of Colonel W. W. Scott, who had stepped down from his rank of general in the militia. These companies were hurried to the "north-western frontier" of the Commonwealth. It is a coincidence that, in both the Revolution and this uncivil war, Fluvanna forces fought west of the Alleghenies. After the trying days of the mountain campaigns of '61-'62, this 44th Virginia Regiment went into Ewell's Division, then into Jackson's and followed Stonewall through the Valley Campaign. Later they were in Edward ("Allegany") Johnson's Division. Losses were such that, after Spottsylvania, the entire regiment was formed into one company.

Infantry, needed in the largest number, was not then, nor is it now, the most popular of armed services. Oddly enough, in Fluvanna, there was initially no cavalry troop. One of the reasons may have been that Virginia required each trooper to furnish his own mount and would pay the cost only if the horse was killed in battle, not if he died of natural causes. Also, there had been elsewhere a rush to the Cavalry and the number of units had to be restricted. In the northwest of the county, Reuben Boston organized a heavy artillery company for the 3rd Artillery Regiment. In early 1862, this unit grew tired of the detail of manning heavy guns, and reorganized. They were then accepted as a Cavalry troop and were put into the new 5th Virginia Cavalry, commanded by the young giant, recently graduated from West Point, Thomas Lafayette Rosser. It was a regiment that had hard fighting. Captain Boston, after wounds, capture and exchange, succeeded to com-

mand of the 5th and was tragically killed on the 6th of April in probably the last cavalry action of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The appeal of the artillery (or lack of appeal of the infantry) led to the formation of two other artillery units—the *Sons of Fluvanna* in the center of the county organized on August 6th under Captain Brent and the *Fluvanna Artillery* organized in the Fork Union area. Before this, the need for men (after Garnett's defeat in the mountains) was such that all able bodied men were mobilized into the 12th Militia Regiment and were sent to Charlottesville. Colonel Cary Cocke commanded this militia and upon his return, stepped down to the rank of Captain and commanded the Fluvanna Artillery. He was succeeded in his militia command by Colonel John J. Johnson. These two artillery batteries were in Major Nelson's reserve artillery. After the 1862 campaigns and various changes in command, the two batteries were consolidated into the Fluvanna Artillery commanded by Captain John L. Massie. After his death, in the fall of 1864, Captain Charles G. Snead commanded this battery of "Second Corps" artillery.

There are three other Fluvanna units listed in the Virginia units. On April 3, 1862, Captain Henry Price enlisted a company of Heavy Artillery from Albemarle and Fluvanna (replacing Captain Boston's). Organization was not completed and it was consolidated with Captain Hendren's Company B, 18th Batallion, Virginia Heavy Artillery. A home guard (limited service company) was organized of boys under eighteen and men between forty-five and fifty called the *Fluvanna Rangers*. This company was successively commanded by Captains James M. Strange, J. B. Perkins, John C. Holland. After the Federal raid of May 1863 another home guard unit was organized—the "*Fluvanna Guards*". Interestingly, the Captain who organized the unit on July 7 resigned August 18, 1863.

Fortunately, Fluvanna was spared the deeper scars of war. One dislikes to remember the great sacrifices of these four arduous years. From an historical standpoint, court records show many claims for exemption, the use of substitutes, and actions to replace substitutes. There was continuing inflation and with it a false prosperity. Crop cycles continued. There was no significant loss of "contrabands". In May 1863, Federal

Cavalry raided south from Hooker's Army on the Rappahannock. A heavy column moved on Charlottesville and a cavalry detachment rode to Columbia to seek to destroy canal communications. Losses were light. They are recorded as "One foot bridge, two road bridges, four farm bridges and one gate on Lock 14." Navigation was held up only two days. Mrs. Snead's Fluvanna Sketch Book" and James Galt's Diary give interesting accounts of the civilian reaction at this raid. The raid was of light cost compared to the victory at Chancellorsville to which the absence of Federal Cavalry contributed.

Two interesting facets of Fluvanna's War History were that a Confederate *Naval* rest camp was located on the Rivanna, and in the lower end of the county there was an area for supply of the Chimborazo Hospital, the largest military hospital of the Confederacy.

In the despairing days of the spring of 1865 (March), Sheridan's troops moved east, after destroying Jubal Early's Army of the Valley. Some 6,000 of his troops came south to Scottsville, moved east to Goochland, and then skirted Richmond. Their course was a leisurely one. They took all "*surplus supplies*" but there were no untoward incidents. The end of the war was near. Spring crops went in. On April 7, 1865, came "Appomattox".

LONG YEARS 1865-1870

"Go home and go to work" was General Lee's advice. The canal was repaired, crops were planted and there was a good harvest. On June 28, 1865, the packet boats were again running. The mills ground again. There had been little physical damage in the county. Financially there was a loss by nearly all save those who had prospered by war prices and had converted their holdings into rare gold or into "real" properties.

In 1866 there came a radical change. Virginia refused to adopt the Fourteenth Amendment disqualifying those who had served the Confederacy. On March 1867 Virginia became Military District No. 1. A Federal Lieutenant stationed at Palmyra became Military Governor of Fluvanna. All county officers were changed. James D. Barrett, a colored shoemaker and minister, represented Fluvanna in the Convention for drafting a New Constitution. "Townships" were set up, then changed to magisterial districts. The County Court of long proven efficiency ceased.

After adjustments in January 1870, Virginia regained statehood and Fluvanna was again self-governing. The census of 1870 shows a population of 9,875. These were costly years.

THREE DECADES—1870-1900

The burdens of the War and of Reconstruction (1865-1870) were heavy. Agricultural production could not recover nor compete with western production. Export markets were gone. Erosion had muddied the rivers, carried off topsoil, silted the streams. Capital was so limited as to be practically non-existent. The Rivanna no longer carried the produce of Albemarle and the James River Canal could not compete with the rails. After only thirty years of service it was known that the Canal could not be a success.

On March 27, 1873, the "Straight Shoot Railroad" was incorporated by northern capitalists to build a railroad up the James replacing the Canal. On February 28, 1878, with the name changed to *Richmond and Alleghany*, there was a new charter and the canal passed into new ownership. By November 19, 1880, the railroad reached Columbia; February 17, 1881, Bremono Bluff; March 17, 1881, Scottsville. Fluvanna had its first railroad; the canal days were gone. After receivership in 1883, the Chesapeake and Ohio took over the Alleghany in 1887. In 1885 the Buckingham railroad had been built, with the bridge over the James at "Big Rock", which now was renamed "Bremono Bluff".

An accepted obligation of the Alleghany Railroad was that if the James River Canal were abandoned, the Railroad would maintain the dams and towpath on the Rivanna to furnish service to the center of the county. Fluvanna citizens, led by T. O. Troy, cited such neglect by the Railroad, and the C&O built the Virginia Airline, completing it in the early twentieth century. The few lower miles of the Rivanna canal continued to operate as the Rivanna Navigation Company. With the railroad, came the telegraph, and then the "local" telephone lines.

Politics was not an avocation but a necessity in this period. Lines were sharply drawn—Conservatives/Radicals—then Funders/Readjusters, and in the 1880's/90's came the rise of the Populist Party. In 1892 Edmund Randolph Cocke of Cumberland County, as nominee of the Populist party for Governor, carried twenty-two counties.

The public school system was developed and by an "act of the General Assembly" in 1886-87, the Central High School at Palmyra became the "first legally accredited rural high school in Virginia". In 1898 the Fork Union Academy, initially co-educational, was founded. A catalogue of that school, some years later, described it as "far from the evil influences of the small towns and the dangers of the large city." Shades of Dr. George Bagby!

There was the Spanish American War, but with little influence on Fluvanna.

Then came the twentieth century!

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

It is difficult for many to realize how fast "history" has moved in our own lives. One-third of Fluvanna's "History" is within the twentieth century. "Gleaning" is difficult.

The long yellow trains of the James River Division, winding up the Valley, with the bright brass of the parlor car, are memories of the past.

The creek-bottom road that ran north from Columbia is gone. The State Highway System has built major roads across the county; and all roads are "all-weather" roads, now!

The Constitution of 1902 that established qualifications for suffrage, established segregation in transportation and facilities, has been thrown out. Counties now raise limited amounts of their required income. Cherished local "government fundamentals" have declined in popular importance.

The Hughes Gold Mining and Milling Company that was operating early in this century, with Virginia's only cyanide recovery process, is of the past. In 1905 this mine had two shafts, a stamp mill and a gold furnacing unit.

Population of the county fell to 7,088 in 1940 but by the 1960 census it has shown an upturn to 7,227. This figure is less than it was a century before.

There have been so many events—World Wars I and II, the Korean "police action", and now, Southeast Asia. Mechanization has replaced the "Mule" on the farm, and the output of a single agricultural worker is twenty-fold or more than at the turn of the century.

Fork Union has grown into one of the Nation's leading Military schools.

Automobiles, telephones, electrification, radio and television, have changed our lives.

From Breemo Bluff (no longer Big Rock) electric power goes to serve Virginia. Gas Transmission lines cross the county.

A record of history can not omit the Prohibition Era or the Flaming Youth Era of the '20s (possibly comparable to the Beatles of today), the Depression of the '30's and the "alphabetical agencies", to say nothing of the radical political changes.

We can hardly realize that in :

July 16, 1945 the first atom bomb was exploded

In 1945—top airplane (jet) speed was 500 mph

In 1947—Space flight was forecast

In 1948—Atomic Powered Ships were predicted

In 1949—Color TV was demonstrated

In 1951—Direct Dialing came into telephone services

In 1952—The sonar (sound) systems of porpoises were projected

In 1952—First national political conventions were televised

In 1957—Prediction—man could hit the moon with a missile

In 1957—Birth control pills were on the market

In 1965—Over 600 man-made objects are now flying around in space

The Fluvanna Historical Society comes into being when history is being rapidly made. There is the trite and old story of the Washington taxi-driver explaining the inscription on the Archives Building: "What is Past is Prologue" he said, and I think his "translation" serves us today. An unusual and interesting book of history is well begun and great chapters are yet to be written. To you, The Fluvanna Historical Society, I lay down the challenge.

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POINT OF FORK MAGAZINE

Built in 1788

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9/73

The Point of Fork Arsenal: Fluvanna County's Revolutionary Landmark

The Point of Fork arsenal, located on the south side of the Rivanna River about two miles northwest of its confluence with the James, was one of Virginia's principal military installations during the Revolution, and was the only military center operated by the Commonwealth during the post-Revolutionary period of the eighteenth century. During its twenty-year active history as an arsenal, a supply and ammunition depot, and a basic training camp, the post played a vital role in the defense of Virginia's vast western frontier.

We cannot be certain exactly when Point of Fork was first established as a military base, and its history, in the traditional manner of military epics, must begin *in media res*. The fact that the earliest surviving official documents about the post speak of it as a going concern in February of 1781 may be attributable in part to the loss of earlier documents, but it results mainly from the informality of the situation: The patriotic David Ross, as a regional Quarter Master for the Virginia forces, simply established the supply point on his own land without bothering to lease it to the Commonwealth.

For the same reasons very little is known about the buildings existing there before the Simcoe raid. Ross wrote the War Office from Point of Fork on 26 February 1781 concerning "the want of nails at that Post in order to finish the work" and a note of 6 April 1781 enclosed for the governor's perusal some estimates for brick work there. Colonel William Davies wrote the governor on 21 April 1781, "I am confident we shall never be able to get them [i.e., the state-owned weapons] repaired unless some buildings are prepared for them in a safe place above the falls." Governor Jefferson the same day approved the Colonel's suggestion to direct "all the hands employed on the public works in this [Richmond] neighborhood, to remove immediately to the Point of Fork . . ." Several other letters during the spring of 1781 mention in general terms the erection of workshops and other buildings and the large-scale delivery by boat and waggon of arms, supplies and ammunition, and the arrival of tailors, shoemakers, and ordnance workers.

The May, 1781, correspondence reveals that all the necessary tools had arrived and that workers were busily fabricat-

ing the new-style blue-on-white summer uniforms and repairing 100-150 muskets a week when the warning came to prepare for invasion: Captain Young was to supervise the removal of Stores, Captain Roane was to sink the artillery in the James, and Captain Anderson and his "artificers" were to stay on as long as possible (26 May 1781) and escape with the canoes, tools and firearms.

The summer, 1781, British invasion of Virginia which was destined to end with the October entrapment of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown began with a series of successful raids up the James—one of the most successful being the attack on Point of Fork. While Tarleton was driving the Virginia legislature out of Charlottesville, Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe (the same John Graves Simcoe who later became Governor General of Canada) led his own American Tory regiment—the Queen's Rangers—and the Second Battalion of the 71st Highland Light Infantry to raid the arsenal. The Point was then protected by some 400 Continental recruits under Baron von Steuben—temporarily stationed there but already under orders to march into Carolina. Steuben managed to save many of the supplies by moving them across the James, but he also abandoned a great many of them to Simcoe's approximately 400 raiders. They arrived, devastated the post and left, all on 5 June. By Simcoe's own account:

There was destroyed at the point of Fork, two thousand five hundred stand of arms, a large quantity of gunpowder, case shot, &c. several casks of saltpetre, sulphur, and brimstone, and upwards of sixty hogsheads of rum and brandy, several chests of carpenters' tools, and upwards of four hundred intrenching tools, with casks of flints, sail cloth and waggons, and a great variety of small stores, necessary for the equipment of cavalry and infantry.

The arsenal personnel, immediately resuming their activities after the raid, began collecting the stores from various hiding places and assessed their damage: Mr. Ford, the contractor who had been in charge of erecting the arsenal buildings that spring, reported on 25 June that the Royalists had burned "the barracks," but had "left the blacksmiths' shops untouched, as well as a frame of the Armoury, which was raised & ready for covering in." This report, together with the

order of 4 July 1783 that new buildings be erected on the sites of those burnt by the enemy, is the best information we have on the Revolutionary War buildings. The excellent maps which the Queen's Rangers prepared, depicting the driving of Steuben's rear-guard off the extreme point of the fork, are of an area just east of the arsenal site, and show no military or industrial buildings whatever—although they include in some detail the house, barn and gardens of a plantation belonging to Mr. Ross.

In the aftermath of the attack, recriminations were exchanged by the arsenal officials and the local inhabitants, who were accused of stealing the hidden supplies and of revealing them to the British. However, more important concerns soon engaged the officers' attention: David Ross on 1 August 1781 advised Colonel Davies that the spades, picks and shovels needed for the siege of Yorktown could be got out of the river at Point of Fork, and that the fascine knives, axes, and hoes could be made by "Anderson's people" at the Point.

A proposal for formal re-organization of the Point of Fork artisans at the time probably reflects with some accuracy the actual makeup of the labor force which turned out the *matériel* required for victory at Yorktown. The plan reads:

1. Captain	James Anderson
1. Capt. Lieut	@ 11 S a day
1. First Lieut	@ 10 S a day
1. Second Lieut	@ 9 S a day
1. Third	@ 8 S a day
12 Gunsmiths good	@ 5 S pr day — according to their work
6 Gunstockers	@ 5 S pr day — according to their work
24 Blacksmiths	@ 4 S pr day — according to their work
1 Striker	@ 2 S pr day — according to their work
7 Nailers	@ 4 S pr day — according to their work
12 Carpenters	@ 4 S pr day — according to their work

12 Saddle and Harness makers	@ 4 S pr day — according to their work
10 Wheelwrights	@ 4 S pr day — according to their work
24 Shoemakers	@ 3 S pr day — according to their work
24 Tailors	@ 3 S pr day — according to their work

132 in the total.

These men were always accompanied at the post, the official records show, by government-employed laundresses and a complement of "public negroes", and, in many cases, by their own families. The Superintendent and his family also resided on post. Temporary quartering of troops continued long past the actual end of hostilities, and throughout the history of the post a number of combat troops served as an arsenal guard.

From all indications in contemporary documents, the surrender at Yorktown of the smallest of the three British armies then operating in America made little immediate difference in the continuity of activities at Point of Fork. The rebel commanders, expecting at least another year of warfare, went on ordering munitions and supplies, which the arsenal turned out in ever-increasing volume. By 14 January 1782, however, it had become apparent that arms production could be allowed to level off. A letter of that date calls for reduction of the officer staff at Point of Fork to "one Quarter Master, one Storekeeper and sergt. to act as Forge-Master, and Issuing Commissary". A War Office letter of 15 January 1782 from Colonel William Davies to the governor proposed that a combat force of only "half a company" be stationed there to guard "the jail and . . . the Continental and State magazines". The opportunity to leave Point of Fork was welcomed by the large garrison stationed there, but the attempt to celebrate the occasion with fireworks was frustrated, as the arsenal commandant explained to his superior:

The fact as near as I can recollect was as follows:

A day or two after the commanding officer of the Continental Troops, at this place received orders for disband-

ing his men, it was concluded by the officers that they should have an entertainment on leaving the post, which accordingly happened. After the day being spent in the usual manner on those occasions, the company repaired to my Quarters, in order to spend the Evening. Soon after their arrival there, it was proposed publicly by Lieut Heth, to sett fire to the State Magazine, but as no person supposed he had any intention to perpetrate the act, there was no attention paid to his proposition, till he was discovered to leave the room with a lighted pipe in his mouth . . . Lieut Heth was permitted to get between the sentry & the Door of the Magazine: which he broke open by a kick with his feet; on that circumstances Happening, I immediately run to the place, on my getting there, discovered Lieut. Heth endeavoring to enter the Door, but was prevented going in by the sentry. I asked him his reason for such conduct & soon discovered him too much entoxicated to assign any. The next morning on mentioning the matter to Lieut Heth, he discovered such uneasiness on acct. of his over nights conduct, which gave me every reason to believe it proceeded from the fumes of Liquor & no real intention of Destroying the Magazine.

Relatively speaking, however, the war's end resulted in an increase, rather than a decline, in the importance of the Point of Fork armory; for as the other large military installations in the Commonwealth were closed down, their stockpiles and activities were removed to Point of Fork. The Correspondence of mid-1782 indicates the transfer thence of the guard, workmen and workshops from "Albemarle Barracks" and the construction of adequate buildings for them. Soon afterward the public stores from Goochland Court House; the public books from "Mr. Jefferson's in Albemarle"; the Fredericksburg gun factory and its craftsmen; the stores from the arsenals and cannon foundry at Westham (just above Richmond, on the James); the collection of arms from Winchester, the Northern Neck, and "Joseph Lee's in Cumberland"; and the public negroes from the army's lead mines in Bedford were concentrated there. This consolidation of the state's entire military establishment was unequivocally ordered in Governor Harrison's letter of 6 February 1783, directing that "the Point of Fork you will consider as the grand repository of Military

Stores where those Arms & Stores not necessarily Vested elsewhere, are to be collected and repaired and kept deposited for the public use as occasion may require. . . ."

As Point of Fork moved into the postwar phrase of its history, it acquired a new superintendent, a Captain John Peyton. Captain Peyton took over from Samuel Dyer on 4 August 1782 and served until his resignation in November of 1786, when he was replaced by Major Elias Langham. The role of the armory during the tenure of these officers was chiefly to maintain a large stockpile of weaponry for emergencies and to issue armaments to the various county militia units—with the largest shipments invariably going to the western counties (now in Kentucky and West Virginia) where active warfare with the Indians continued unabated. Frontier commanders receiving arms shipments from the post included Daniel Boone, Jack Jouett, and the chief of a friendly Indian nation the Chickasaws.

Although the work of the post was largely custodial, the manufacture and repair of arms went on continually. The Point of Fork gunsmiths, although they probably never made the entire firearm at one time, fabricated every musket part in the course of their repair work. Swords, bayonets and ramrods were forged directly from ingot metal. Other products of the post over the years included gunpowder and lead shot, uniforms, horse equipment, cannonballs and guncarriages for the artillery, cartridge boxes, belts and scabbards, wooden canteens, camp kettles, fifes and drums, and "pioneer tools" such as axes and spades.

In the late summer of 1782, when most of the arms and supplies were being kept in a building known as the "long house", Captain Peyton hired Milton Ford to begin some new construction, the nature of which is not certain from the post correspondence. Exact specifications are extant, however, for the three buildings begun the following summer, although the drawings which originally accompanied them have been lost. These specifications, directed to the contractor and dated July 4th, 1783, called for a 40 x 15½-foot stone magazine with side walls at least two and one-half feet thick and six feet high, a 160 x 25-foot arsenal with a stone lower story for cannon and a frame upper story sufficient to hold 10,000 muskets, and a third building of unspecified shape and purpose. The order that these structures be built, as nearly as

the prescribed dimensions would allow, on the sites of those destroyed by the British, may afford archaeologists at least a partial clue as to the locations of the 1781 buildings.

The next indication of construction at the post is the September 1786 recommendation by an inspection committee from Richmond that "a small Tub Mill" be erected in "the neighboring stream" for the grinding of bayonets ("the armorers being at present obliged to bore and grind the Bayonets by hand"), and that an arsenal large enough for 15,000 muskets and a stone magazine sufficient to hold fifty tons of powder ("the present Magazine being very insufficient") be constructed. Unfortunately the committee's arsenal plan and the plan which Captain Peyton drew for the magazine are missing from the State Papers. This new arsenal was needed for the sizable arms shipment expected from France, which arrived the following December.

Shortly after Major Langham's assumption of command in early 1787 it was reported that the timbers were all in place and the stone walls of the new buildings beginning to rise. Beginning in April 1787 and continuing through the summer, the arsenal officials were involved in the lengthy process of formalizing, at last, the transfer from David Ross to the Commonwealth of the nine-acre tract which these new buildings occupied. The County Surveyor and the Superintendent of Military Stores, as shown in their plat of 26 April 1787, laid off the piece "to include the Mill Seat, and on the other side to go down to the Spring . . . and round the buildings, as far as to leave room for gardens on each side." Mr. Ross stated his willingness "to extend the line at least 100 yards on all sides, that no buildings may be erected within that distance." The deed included enough additional land to place the line "at least one hundred yards distant from the place where the new magazine is to be erected at", and left at least 150 feet "on all sides of the present row of buildings as they now stand on either side of the street . . ." Apparently the additional 100-yard sections were taken, for on 8 August 1787 the evaluating jury composed of John Nicholas, Richard James and Wilson Cary Nicholas estimated a £250 condemnation price for the 24 acres "upon which the Barracks stand". An additional 150 acres of adjacent land was acquired the following October from Elias Wills, and an ease-

ment was acquired from David Ross for the flooding to be required for operation of the boring mill.

Before the latest proposed magazine was even completed, apparently its capacity was already insufficient for the Commonwealth's needs and a contract had to be let to Daniel Morin for another such building. The agreement, dated 14 March 1788, calls for a "structure twenty-four feet square in the clear, with walls sufficiently thick to bear being "arched over with stone, &c., and to be plastered within". The construction estimate was for 15,000 brick, 600 bushels of lime, 5,000 20d. nails, 15,000 8d. nails, and six extra construction workers. When Edmund Randolph inspected the post on 5 May 1788, he found that the brick for this magazine, which was scheduled for construction between 15 June and 15 October of that year, had already been arranged for, and that the three-story "Arsenal of 40 x 20", so long in process, was all but finished. However, a second arsenal building of the same dimensions was sorely needed.

Governor Randolph reported also that with the new water-driven mill at work, two men were grinding some 25 bayonets per day—about twice the hand-ground number. But this water-driven mill was frequently out of repair and was finally swept away by a flood.

The post commander lost no time in filing an estimate for the additional building Mr. Randolph prescribed. It was to be of frame, apparently plank sheathed and lined with a brickbat fill between the two plank walls. So many buildings were reportedly in process by 1788 that the statement by an inspector of that year saying that "the new arsenal" was going up might have referred to any one of at least three projects—the terms *arsenal*, *armory* and *magazine* having been used all too interchangeably by some of the correspondents.

The next gubernatorial inspection, on 24 August 1790, revealed that the new French-made weapons and equipment were well kept; that 5,717 old assorted muskets stored in three "apartments" of the arsenal building were in good repair, although the large number of old arms "piled in the loft of the Work-shop" had not fared so well; and that a leaking proof endangered the powder in the "new magazine".

Except for Major Langham's reduction to the rank of captain (for the abuse of his men) in 1790, the early 1790's seem

to have passed routinely enough at the arsenal, with an average of 650 muskets being restocked per quarter and a supply of some 10,000 firearms on hand in various states of repair at all times. Langham was replaced by Major Robert Quarles in 1793.

Although an office was constructed in 1791, the establishment was gradually reduced. From the 26-man guard and unspecified number of workers, etc., on duty in 1789, it declined to a force of one superintendent, seven armorers, one corporal and 15 soldiers, two carpenters, four women, two children and one state negro at the end of 1791. It was planned to reduce the force over the next year to a superintendent and four armorers, a corporal and nine soldiers, and one state negro. Still, soldiers' houses were directed to be built on post in the fall of 1793, and the superintendent's nephew Thomas Quarles found it profitable to open a sutler's shop at the post a few weeks later.

Out of this circumstance grew a particularly nasty exchange of vituperative countercharges between the Langham brothers and the Quarles brothers in which the soldiers below and the bureaucrats above eventually took the Quarleses' side. It was concluded that having a store on post was better than having the soldiers continually "rambling off to Columbia to buy liquor." At least one product of this unseemly squabble which is nevertheless beneficial to the historian is an indignant letter from the incumbent Quarles that the garrison of eight smiths and three soldiers at the Point when he took over had soon been increased to 18 and 13, that Captain Peyton had commanded fewer men than that and that Langham had had less than half that number.

The arsenal's response to the military emergency of 1794, when the Pennsylvania Whisky Rebellion and the Fallen Timbers campaign in Ohio necessitated large arms shipments to both the Virginia militia and the federal army, is well documented. Point of Fork lent the United States 3,000 muskets and bayonets with cartridge boxes, 15 barrels of powder, 1,650 pounds of shot, five barrels of flints, 19 pigs of lead and numerous musket accessories. Very soon thereafter, the arsenal began to accelerate its work, and to manufacture gun locks, the one part which had formerly been bought elsewhere. Apparently the artisans had earlier made individual component parts of these mechanisms in the course of their

repair work, but had not made entire locks. That is a good clue to why there is apparently no firearm extant today which can definitely be identified as "the Point of Fork musket".

Official papers after the year 1795 record, mainly, the decline of the arsenal establishment. A House of Delegates Resolution of 23 December 1796, although it authorizes the enlistment of additional artisans for Point of Fork, also requests the governor to find an advantageous site in Richmond for an "arsenal and manufactory of arms". When an inspection board in 1798 reported the post to be in a poor situation militarily, work was begun on a 60 x 70-yard log stockade with bastions for protection by cannon, but the work was so long delayed that by the time of its near completion in 1799, all but four of the artisans had been discharged. To make matters worse, the bayonet-grinding mill was swept away by a late spring flood, never to be replaced. A temporary reinforcement of the guard by local militia in September of 1800 was an illusory sign of resurgence. Pursuant to a resolution of discontinuation passed three years earlier by the House of Delegates, Captain John Clarke began the removal of the Point of Fork arms to his Richmond manufactory in January of 1801.

The last entries in the Commonwealth's records concern the sale of the 25-acre tract and its dilapidated buildings. The inspection made preparatory to this sale in October of 1809 disclosed that the 24-foot square magazine remained "a piece of very good stone work", and that the two-story frame arsenal of "86 x 20 feet" (a new figure, indicating, if correct, that the original specifications were compromised upon) had sunk upon ten inches at one end. The several "houses . . . used as shops & Residences for the artificers and soldiers" were tumbling down. Much of the brick, stone, and structural iron had been appropriated by the local farmers.

Today very little is known about the actual physical layout of the military establishment at Point of Fork. On the other hand, the prospects for further discovery (of the sort which would facilitate restoration) are excellent. The schematic plat of 1787 does not even purport to be drawn accurately to scale, and does not show ground relief or any other natural features, except for two springs and a short section of stream at the "mill seat". All we do know for sure is the location of two stone ruins on Mr. J. W. Siegfried's

land in the area specified by the report of October, 1809, as "where the old arsenal stands"—i.e., "on the South side of the Rivanna River about two miles above its confluence with the Fluvanna" (Fluvanna being the name then given the James above Columbia). These are a square foundation and basement located on a cleared hilltop, and a long rectangular stone foundation located about one hundred yards nearer Columbia on the "military crest" or eastern shoulder of this elongated hill. There is little doubt that the smaller ruin, being clearly 24 feet square and once vaulted into two rooms, is the stone magazine of 1788.

Once it is established that these are the remains of the projected "new magazine" shown on the 1787 plat, that document can be oriented so that the springs coincide with present-day springs, and the stream-section with Barracks Branch, making it fairly certain that the rectangular foundation belonged to one of the several "longhouse" arsenals so frequently mentioned in the records. Since archaeological research on such a small scale that it can only be called a preliminary survey has indicated an unusual concentration of deliberately and violently destroyed military-type debris around the longer foundation, it seems that the ruin must belong to a building destroyed in the Simcoe raid or one erected on the site of the destroyed buildings. The other fact of which we can be fully certain is that whatever we may learn from these two building-sites is very little compared to what we may yet learn from the sites of a great many other now-vanished buildings at Point of Fork.

The above discussion should indicate, if nothing else, the necessity for preservation of this highly significant historic site and for further research on both the documentary and the archaeological fronts. The archaeological research, although it is something which every interested person can and should help with, should be done by professional personnel and under the auspices of a reputable non-profit organization—preferably the state or federal government. The documentary research, particularly in the form of an intensified local search for pertinent maps, manuscripts and documents, is the responsibility of all and can be begun right away. Most important of all, however, and preliminary to my question of restoration, is the preservation of the site from industrial, commercial and even residential develop-

ment. Once this preservation is assured, historians can be certain that further documentary and archaeological research on the Point of Fork will result in a full exploitation of the site's enormous educational and recreational potential.

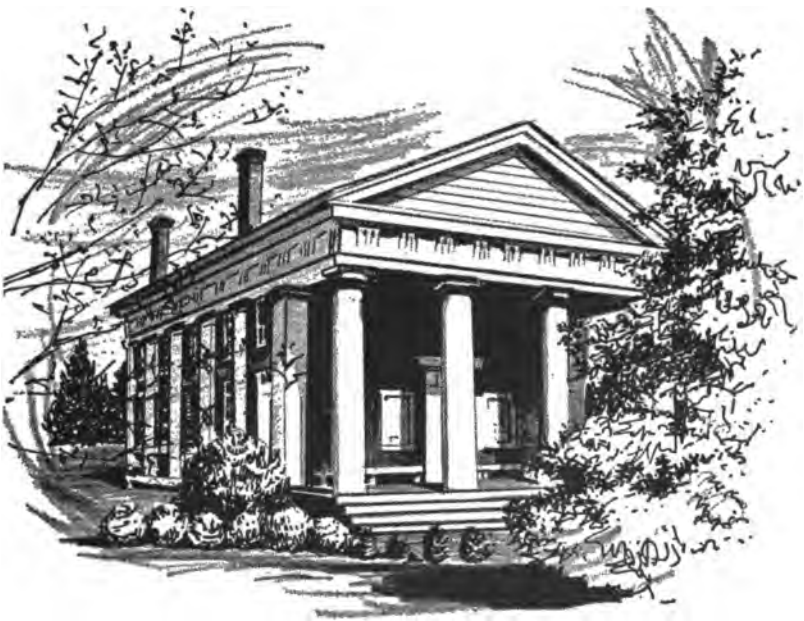
RICHARD CROUCH
9 February 1967

The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

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COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

Built in 1830

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9173

The Rivanna Navigation Company

The Rivanna River has played an important and active role in the history and development of Central Virginia. It gathers the small streams of northwest Albemarle County and enters the City of Charlottesville as a river of some importance. With sweeping curves cradling rich bottom land, it loops and meanders as it bisects Fluvanna County, emptying into the James River at Columbia.

On the banks of the Rivanna River in Fluvanna County are the remains of locks and dams and short stretches of canals once used by boats that traveled up and down the stream. Abandoned about 60 years ago, they have been undisturbed except by flood and are in a good state of preservation. Even the silting and filling caused by floods have helped preserve the wood and metal of the lock gates which now lie buried. The locks and aqueducts are beautifully built, "the ancient castles of the new world."

The Rivanna Navigation Company is the only historical navigation system in the State of Virginia which was well-built of stone and is well preserved today with structures and towpaths virtually undisturbed. It could be the only towpath park in Virginia, as no such park now exists. It offers an irresistible combination—History and Nature. Dr. W. E. Trout, III, has said, "History mollified by nature is ideal along Virginia's old waterways."

Many navigation systems, such as the James River-Kanawha Canal, have been altered or destroyed. The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway line was built on the towpath along the James River. But the structures on the Rivanna thus far have escaped destruction by railroads, highways, pipelines and industry. This chapter of the past can be enjoyed today and with forethought can be enjoyed in the future.

More than 200 years ago, in 1763, Thomas Jefferson began the first organized effort to improve navigation on the Rivanna River. He and others subscribed a total of 200 pounds to do the first improvements to make the river navigable.

Jefferson secured Roger and George Thompson to survey the river and make the necessary improvements. The Thompson brothers, in 1777, were active in the formation of Fluvanna County and were the leaders of civic and religious life of the new County.

In a 1795 pamphlet, "Notes on Virginia," Jefferson mentioned that the Rivanna was then navigable by canoes and batteaux from the Southwest Mountains below Charlottesville to its mouth on the James.

Many years later, before being elected President, Jefferson drew up a list of his "undertakings" as he was asking himself whether his country was any the better for his having lived. This improvement of the Rivanna was the first item on his list.

Dr. Trout, of Richmond, in his report on the Rivanna states that the early improvements may have consisted of little else than removing fallen trees in the river, and creating channels—sluices—at falls and shoals by moving gravel and rocks, using blasting powder when necessary.

Navigating such "improved" channels could be accomplished only with very maneuverable boats of shallow draft. The canoe was the lightest, and could be used almost anywhere, but was subject to inversion under a heavy load.

The double canoe, two canoes lashed side by side, was more stable and could carry heavy loads such as tobacco hogsheads.

The batteau, a flat-bottomed wooden boat usually pointed at both ends, was a heavier, more durable craft especially designed for river transport. About 60 feet long and 7 feet wide, they were poled up or down the current, and so were common on those navigable streams lacking a towpath.

Water transportation was without a doubt the best means of getting bulky farm goods to market and the traffic on the Rivanna increased. Tobacco was one of the main farm products to be transported down the Rivanna. Hogsheads of tobacco had been rolled to Richmond by farmers and slaves on foot, or an axle had been placed through the hogsheads so that a horse could pull them over the poor roads. Water transportation was surely quicker and easier.

Towns were built on the river banks. One of the first state tobacco inspection stations, Henderson's Warehouse, was established in 1789 at "The Shallows." Here, the town of Milton was established the same year. At the head of navigation, about five miles below the present site of Charlottesville, Milton was the shipping center of Albemarle—The Port of Albemarle.

When, during the next century, navigation was extended to

Charlottesville, Milton began to decline. Today the extent of its abandoned streets can be seen from the air.

Another tobacco inspection station, Rivanna Warehouse, was established in 1785 at the other end of the Rivanna—the Point of Fork of the James—where three years later the town of Columbia was established.

A town also grew on the river in the northwest corner of Fluvanna called Bernardsburg, named for the burgo-master, Bernard. It was established by an act of the General Assembly in 1796. A state tobacco warehouse was established there in 1802. Tradition states that the first newspaper in this section was published at Bernardsburg. The population was increased in mid-nineteenth century by the stonemasons who came to build the locks and other navigation structures, but the town “died” early in this century.

In 1805 the Rivanna Navigation Company was organized to make more extensive improvements on the Rivanna. Periodic improvements were made thereafter by the company, which can be roughly divided into three periods: around 1810, the 1830's and the 1850's. It was in 1830 that more locks were added at existing dams and other locks and dams were built. It was not until the 1850's that most of the locks with handsome stonework were built. These and the towpath along the river and the stretches of canal made horseboat navigation possible on the Rivanna.

By 1817 the company was actively engaged in straightening and deepening sluices, and building wing-dams at more than 27 falls, shoals and fords between Milton and Columbia. A survey book of 1826 notes the location of many of these.

The wing dams were probably not masonry structures, but low broad dams up to two feet high, of large stones piled upon each other. These were placed so as to direct the river into narrow channels, or sluices, passing through the falls or shoals near the bank. Sometimes two wing dams were built, extending from each bank to form a sluice in the center of the river.

When traveling upstream, a sluice near the bank was preferable since the boatmen could get out and drag their boat by a rope when the current was too swift for poling.

One can still detect remains of these wing dams and sluices, even though they have not been kept up since they were abandoned in the 1830's. A rocky ripple may once have been a

wing dam, and a shallow channel, a sluice. Rocks, too, show signs of blasting.

Above Charlottesville, the river was finally improved to some extent as far as Hydraulic Mills on the South Fork and for a few miles to Brook Mills on the North Fork.

The Rivanna navigation at this time was not entirely a series of sluices. There were several mill dams on the river, each of which was required by law to have a lock. When the navigation company was incorporated, it took over the maintenance of these locks, but not of the mill dams which were supposed to be kept up by the owners.

It was in 1810 that Thomas Jefferson wrote the directors of the company revealing some of the plans for navigation improvements. Writing of his Shadwell mills he said in effect:

“Your gentlemen directors, observing that my mill dam and canal present a dead sheet of water from the entrance of the river into the mountains, at the Secretary’s Ford, to its exit at my mill, desire the use of my dam to keep back water at its present navigable state. Use it. I shall maintain it for my own purposes.

“But you wish to raise the dam two feet. In that case, you must maintain the dam yourselves, because, being raised to five feet, it will be carried away ten times for once if it remains at three feet.

“You wish to use my canal. You are welcome to it. Next you say you wish to widen it for batteaux. You are free to widen it, but as admitting a greater volume of water will destroy the bank in some places, you must maintain the bank.

“Next you say you shall want a site for a lock at the lower end. I will give it to you, together with timber, earth and stone to build it . . . But while you are widening the canal you say you must stop my mill perhaps a month. You may do it and I will charge you nothing for the rent.”

Available records do not tell how all the issues were settled but according to the company’s report in 1818 there were seven wooden locks: three at Jefferson’s Shadwell Mill, and one each at Campbell’s Mill at the Buck Island Dam in Albemarle, Union Mills Dam in northwestern Fluvanna, Palmyra

Dam, and Rivanna (Ashlin's) Mill about five miles above Columbia. There were short canals at Shadwell, Union Mills and Rivanna Mills. The dam at Palmyra seems to have been a little upstream from the later dams, one of which rested against the piers of the covered bridge.

When there was enough water in the river, and when the locks and dams were in order, the improved navigation probably extended to Moore's Creek, 1½ miles south of Charlottesville.

An article by T. J. Wertenbaker in *The Magazine of Albemarle County History* described commerce in this way: "At high water the batteaux could carry 200 bushels of wheat. Three men were sufficient to man a batteau. They would fall down with the stream, but work their way back with poles."

The load for downstream depended on how high the water was. Information on the state of the water in the river was continually sought from the watermen, for on a flush river a batteau might safely take on 50 barrels of flour; if the water was low, half that number might constitute a load.

Wertenbaker included this description:

"A batteau on the water was more than a match for the best four or six horse bellteam. . . . If ever man gloried in his calling, the Negro batteaman was that man. His was a hardy calling, demanding skill, courage, and strength in a high degree. I can see him now striding the plank that ran along the gunwale to afford him footing, his long iron-shod pole trailing in the water behind him.

"Now he turns, and after one or two ineffectual efforts to get his pole fixed in the rocky bottom of the river, secures his purchase, adjusts the upper part of the pole to the pad at his shoulder, bends to his task, and the long, but not ungraceful bark mounts the rapids like a sea bird breasting the storm. . . .

"A stalwart, jolly, courageous set they were, plying the pole all day, hauling into shore at night. . . to rest, to eat, to play the banjo, and to snatch a few hours of profound, blissful sleep."

The canoes and batteaux, on their trips down to Richmond, were laden with hogsheads of tobacco, barrels of flour or other upcountry produce. On the return trip the cargo was much

lighter—sacks of salt, bags of coffee, sugar, molasses and whiskey.

Tolls for using the company's navigation were payable at Columbia, 33 miles below Moore's Creek. From Columbia, boats could continue 56 miles down the open James to Westham above Richmond, where two short canals led to the canal basin at the foot of Capitol Hill. (This canal was, of course, later improved and lengthened.)

The 1830's was a time of great progress in Central Virginia. The building boom and the increase in farm production was reflected in the improvement of the Rivanna Navigation system. As trade on the Rivanna increased, the sluice system was declared inadequate. One problem with channels cut through falls and shoals was the consequent draining of the deeper ponds above them.

Of course wing dams helped to back the water, but they were hazardous. Occasionally boats were smashed against a wing dam while trying to shoot the sluice formed by it. Poling the boats upstream against swift currents was an even more difficult job. The primary problem, however, was the frequent navigation stoppage caused by low water. Batteaux could travel fully laden only during freshets.

It was decided to build a safer, more reliable system by constructing a series of locks and dams, and making improvements at the mill dams. Batteaux were still to be the means of transport since no towpath was planned.

Although mill dams provided slack-water navigation on their ponds, they were perhaps the main obstacles to navigation on the Rivanna, as well as on other rivers. The first problem was to make arrangements with the mill owners for the construction of navigation facilities. Fortunately for the Rivanna navigation, mill dams were required to have locks. Secondly, both the mills and the navigation required water. There was not always enough for both. Besides the cotton factory at Union Mills, called the Virginia Union Factory, there were many flour and grist mills which used the water held by the dams. At some dams the water was also used to power sawmills. Some of the deeds recorded in Fluvanna lead one to think is was usually the mill which had to use the "excess" water—that which would have otherwise run over the dam.

The third problem with the mill dams was that they were not usually built on a site suitable for navigation. They were designed to provide a maximum fall of water for the mill wheel, so were built on the falls rather than below them in navigable water. Locks built in these dams did not lower boats into deep water, and the water level below the dam could not be raised without flooding ("drowning") the mill wheel, making it inoperative. The solution was to build a canal, with locks, from the millpond to navigable water downstream. Some of the 1830 improvements on the Rivanna consisted of building such canals.

Below the dam at Palmyra there were riffles and the water between this dam and the mouth of Cunningham Creek was too shallow. Plans were made to construct a canal with locks from the mill dam to slack water of Strange's millpond. The Reverend Mr. Walker Timberlake and Mr. John G. Hughes both offered plans and estimates for this stretch of river and were rejected. Finally, in July, 1832, Mr. Timberlake won the contract to make improvements on the north side of the river, widen and deepen the canal to his present lock, put in guard gates, and construct two chambers of locks in the canal. He was to deepen the River from the mouth of the lower lock to the deep water at the head of Strange's pond to the width of 25 feet. This channel was to be of sufficient depth for boats drawing 2 feet of water.

It is doubtful that Timberlake ever built two locks at his mill site. His letters to Gen. John Hartwell Cocke about workmen needed for the project give the impression that he built only one lock, a substantial one—perhaps of stone. One wonders if he ever deepened the channel to the needed depth as an eyewitness tells us that the water was always too shallow below the dam in the last part of the century. This was overcome by opening the gates of the locks to let out a rush of water. The mule pulled the boat into the lock on this flood tide. The lock was then refilled to lift the boat for further travel upstream.

To provide a complete lock and dam navigation from the James River to Moore's Ford at Charlottesville, it was necessary to use 14 dams and 19 locks. Six of these were the old mill dams: Shadwell, Campbell's, Union, Palmyra, Rivanna and Wood's mills. Eight were new dams built by the company: Pireus, Milton, Stump Island, Bernardsburg, Broken Island

(Pettit's Island), Strange's, White Rock and Columbia dams. The directors worked hard over the plans for these improvements, and orders seem to have been given, contracts let, but there were delays and many changes in plans. The contract for improvements from Columbia to Union Mills was given to Capt. John M. Perry, excepting one contract given to Mr. Gideon A. Strange to do the necessary work at his mill site.

Most of the dams on the Rivanna were "crib dams," made by building a crib of heart-pine squared timbers, pegged together with huge wooden pegs. Some timbers were bolted to the bedrock with big iron pins. The timbers parallel to the stream slanted upward on the downstream side and these timbers rested on long timbers laid across the stream. The back of the dam looked a little like a long roofless log cabin; the front was sloping. The hollow cribs were filled with large stones, and the faces and tops of the dams were planked in an effort to make them watertight. This structure, five to ten feet high, extended across the river and was stabilized with stone or masonry abutments on each bank.

Much of the remains of Strange's lock completed in 1832 can be seen on the right bank, just below the C. & O. Railway bridge across the Rivanna near Carysbrook. Some of the masonry work and a great deal of the upright wooden timbers are clearly visible. A large rock was used as part of the lock. No traces of the dam have been recognized. The minutes noted that the construction was acceptable except he must "make the canal leading to the lock to the depth of 2 feet, 3 inches, and wide enough for loaded boats to pass the same without danger of striking or hanging and he is to deepen the channel from the lock to the deep water below. . . ." It is also noted that Gen. Cocke of Bremono was paid \$250 by Strange, probably for work done by Cocke's slaves.

The best remains of a wooden lock of this period is at White Rock dam, a couple of miles down river from the highway bridge at Carysbrook Farm. The rough masonry sides, the upright timbers and wrought-iron pins which supported the plank sides are all visible. Remains of the dam show the placement of the timbers in the stream bed and one can see where the wooden pins held these timbers together. The directors inspected this work in 1833 and reported that Perry's work was unsatisfactory in some ways. "The sluice from the

lock is too narrow and not of sufficient depth . . . the cap sills of the abutments are not sufficiently secure and the wicket gate is deficient in size."

The directors also found some of Perry's work at Bernardsburg not finished according to contract, but "the balance of the work . . . the Board considers as well and faithfully executed and deserves the highest commendation." The rebuilding was supervised by Nicholas H. Lewis, who was appointed superintendent by the directors, to receive \$3 a day.

Over 100 years later there are still signs of these dams: stones, abutments, wrought-iron spikes and timbers in their original positions in the riverbed. Since some of these locks and dams were by-passed in the rebuilding of the 1850's, the construction of the 1830 period can be seen, not only at Strange's and White Rock, but at Bernardsburg and near Columbia. The remains of the Columbia dam built by John G. Hughes is just above the spot chosen by the James River Canal for their aqueduct. This Columbia dam seems to have replaced the old Wood's Mill dam. Wood's Mill is shown on a map of the county dated 1820, and stood where the Route 6 highway bridge crosses the Rivanna west of Columbia.

Mills were erected at some of these new dams. The company built a sawmill at Broken Island and bought land from William S. Lane in 1844 to build comfortable cabins for the "hands."

Some records indicate as many as 23 locks on the Rivanna during this period and they had an average lift of seven feet and came in two types: wooden locks and rough masonry locks lined with plank. They were built 8 feet wide, for the batteaux using them were about 7 feet wide. (As early as 1831 Thomas Jefferson Randolph recommended building the locks 14 feet wide.) The batteaux could pass two abreast through the 15-foot-wide locks on the James River-Kanawha Canal which was gradually extending westward from Richmond, reaching Columbia in 1840.

Claudius Crozet, chief engineer of the state, suggested the following construction: "These locks, which are necessarily to be made of wood, should consist of a foundation of cross sills laid on the ground or on longitudinal sleepers, bolted to rocks, as the case may require. On every other cross sill uprights eight by ten inches should be framed about three feet apart. . . . After having filled the spaces between the sills

with clay or stone according to the situation, the sides and bottom are to be planked up with two-inch planks."

The company was often in trouble with the mill owners and were involved in suits that dragged on for years. The minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors now on file at the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, refer often to a suit brought by Timberlake and Magruder, owners of the Shadwell Mills around 1830. The heirs of the estate of William Wood also brought suit against the company, but the cause of their grievances was not too clear.

The company also had financial troubles and often solicited additional subscriptions for stock to raise more money. Perry must have become weary waiting for payments for his work on the navigation structures, for though the directors ordered the payments to be made by a certain date, later entries in the minutes show the payments had not been made.

The Rivanna Navigation Company again rebuilt its structures in the 1850's. The engineer in charge was John Couty, an excellent mathematician and builder. Twenty-nine beautifully drawn plats showing the 1850 plans for the Rivanna navigation have been found. Couty's plats are characterized by their blue, red, green, and yellow shading to indicate slopes and land areas. Many have a pink border. All of his plats are "signed" by his device indicating North. It was an important and exciting discovery to unearth these beautifully drawn plats which were done between 1836 and 1850. Included with them were many plats for the James River Canal. Dr. Trout also found the Rivanna Navigation seal, on a deed signed by John Randolph Bryan of Carysbrook. It is a blue imprint with a stylized boat (unusual for 1854) encircled with the name of the company; field of blue, with white lines. The directors in 1830 had regretted they had no official seal and so substituted the private seal of their President, Hugh Nelson. By 1854 Thomas Jefferson Randolph was President of the company.

The rebuilding of the navigation in the 1850's was necessary for a number of reasons. On December 1, 1840, the James River-Kanawha Canal was opened to traffic from Richmond to Lynchburg. Large horse-drawn freight and packet boats were passing through Columbia, and across the Rivanna on a beautiful three-arched cut-stone aqueduct. Although batteaux from the Rivanna Navigation could use the James River

Canal, the big James River canal boats could not be returned the courtesy; the Rivanna locks were too small, and there was no towpath. Also, there was no direct water connection at Columbia. The nearest was a river lock at Cartersville, ten miles down the James.

To keep up with the times, the Rivanna navigation was rebuilt once more. Both companies took part in this rebuilding. The James River Company agreed to make the connection if the Rivanna Company would make similar improvements to Charlottesville. In 1851 the James River Company completed its "Rivanna Connexion," a $4\frac{1}{2}$ mile canal with two locks and two large walk-through culverts.

The new canal began at the locks at Rivanna Mills and ran to the James River Canal at Columbia. The beautifully built culverts at Gum and Dog Creeks are long and like small aqueducts, with earthen canal beds and earthen towpaths on top of the stonework. These connections fed water into the James River Canal, so that it was a "feeder canal" as well as a major branch line. Where this canal enters the town of Columbia, at St. Andrews Street, there is a lock now almost entirely filled and covered with sawmill debris.

The Rivanna Company, on its part, built seven large stone locks, six miles of canals, 20 miles of towpath and a dam at a new location, Carysbrook Farm. The dams at Union Mills, Broken Island, Palmyra and Rivanna Mills were probably all rebuilt and strengthened and larger locks built. The navigation system had been badly damaged by a freshet in 1840. The directors reported that "five lock gates were loosened or washed away, and two entirely lost, and a pair of guard gates crushed by the force of the water. . . ." A part of the mill dam at Palmyra was washed away.

The works of the 1850's on the Rivanna were—and still are—magnificent structures, built to last for centuries. The credit for this excellence goes to John Couty, "to whom no higher compliment can be paid than by simply saying that the floods of the season have passed over his work in every possible stage of construction, without displacing the first stick or stone that has been laid down," an 1852 report of the Bureau of Public Works relates.

Couty's works on the Rivanna are among the best in Virginia. The locks are of carefully shaped granite masonry. The stone facing the lock chamber is "hammer dressed" to a

smooth surface to provide both a pleasing appearance and a smooth wall which would not chew up the boats rubbing against it. The stones in view, but not in contact with the boats, were sometimes given a rougher "quarry-faced" surface; and those which were to be covered, on the back walls, had an even rougher finish. All these types can be seen at the Palmyra lock, which is the most accessible by car. The lock chambers between gates were uniformly 100 by 15 feet, the same as those on the James River.

Besides the locks at Columbia and Rivanna Mills, they were built at Carysbrook, Palmyra, Dog Point, Pettit's Island, two at Bernardsburg and one at Union Mills. All of this new construction was within Fluvanna County. The improvements never reached Charlottesville. In 1854 the horse boat navigation had been completed to Thrift's Ford at the upper edge of Fluvanna, within eight miles of Charlottesville. At this point the navigation company apparently ran out of money and no work other than maintenance was done for 20 years. Then, too, the Virginia Central Railway reached Charlottesville in 1850. Presumably goods to that town were sent overland or transferred at Thrift's Ford to smaller batteaux.

Any one of the locks on the Rivanna today is worth a hike to see. Each one is unique. All the stonework at Rivanna Mills and on the stretch of canal below is impressively beautiful. These mills were run by the Stillmans and the Ashlins and were often called by their names. A little settlement grew here where the Bryant Ford Road crossed the Rivanna. The Stillman brothers lived with the Ashlins at Rivanna Hall and ran a thriving enterprise of flour and grist mill, store, post office and at one time, a blacksmith shop. The records preserved about this area provide an interesting historical background that makes the stonework remains most interesting.

The lock at Palmyra, at Timberlake's mill, has two narrow verticle slots cut into the stone for a stopgate, just a few feet upstream of the gates. A thin wooden gate could be slipped into these slots to dam the water for lock site repairs. Some of the metal which held the miter-lock gates is still in place on this lock and more of it may be buried in the lock. Part of one of the gates from this lock has been discovered near the bank a short distance downstream. Portions of the large timbers have been preserved in the water, and the metal wicket gate is still attached to them. It is believed that most

of these locks had wooden floors which are now covered with dirt.

A study of the mammoth stones in the Palmyra lock tells much about how they were quarried and then cut—smoothed and squared. Most interesting of all are the mason's marks, the trademarks—or autographs—of the stone masons who built the locks. The use of these symbols is an old tradition brought from Europe.

Just upriver from the lock and mill are the stone piers which once supported the wooden covered bridge. The bridge was first built to replace the ferry in 1828 when the Fluvanna Courthouse was moved to Palmyra. The date "Au 21 1829" is carved on the pier on the north side of the river. The bridge was often washed away by high water and was burned at the end of the Civil War, either by the Yankees or by the retreating Rebels. It was burned again in 1931 by the State highway department when they had completed the new steel bridge across the Rivanna which is named for Pembroke Pettit. Many people now tell of how they stood on the new bridge and cried as they watched through the night the covered bridge being burned.

Almost in sight of the covered bridge stands Solitude Mill on Cunningham Creek. It was spared by Sheridan's raiders by the pleas of the women. This flour mill was operated until about 1940 and is the only old brick mill standing in Fluvanna. Flour from this and other Fluvanna mills were shipped south "across the Equator" and was said to be the only flour of a quality to stand the heat of the voyage. Solitude Mill, like many of the mills on the river, was powered by a turbine. The grist mills on the creeks were powered by overshot water wheels.

The locks at Pettit's Island dam, at the head of a mile-long canal, is believed to be the only one on the river with an earthen chamber which was lined with wood. Apparently only the ends of the lock which supported the gates were built of rock. The lock at the lower end of the canal is buried except for the coping stones. Nearby are the chimneys of the gate-keeper's house.

There were locks on both sides of the river at Union Mills, the one on the east bank was used by the mills. On the west bank there is one of the most interesting locks on the river ✓

which could be called "The Unique Lock." The engineer used the natural rock whenever he could, so the lock is a mosaic of bedrock and masonry. To top it off, part of the wall was made of wood.

On the east bank can be seen the ruins of the old town of Union Mills. The *Gazetteer of Virginia* of 1835 gives the following account of a merchant mill, grist and sawmill, and a cotton factory:

"Messrs. Timberlake and Magruder own the factory, a large and commodious brick building; it runs 1500 spindles, besides the necessary machinery for carding—it contains 12 power looms, in which several hundred yards of substantial cloth are made per day. The cotton yarn of this establishment is in high repute throughout the state. More than 100 operatives are employed by the enterprising proprietors in the different departments of their establishment.—The place contains comfortable houses for the accommodation of 18 or 20 families, a tanyard, and a Methodist house of worship; besides the elegant dwellings of the proprietors."

Union Mills is at the head of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of canal crossed by the present Route 600 at Crofton. At the lower end of the canal (at old Bernardsburg) there are two stone locks. The guard lock nearest the river is silted full, but the lift lock nearby has less fill than any seen on the Rivanna, and, being well exposed, it is most impressive. This is the only lock on the Rivanna where one can see a wall at the upper end (six feet tall) to hold back silt from the canal bed. It is not uncommon, however, for locks to have such an apron or sill.

Route 600 cuts through the body of this canal, and one can see from the road a typical cross section consisting of: a berm ditch and bank on the hillside to catch ground water runoff and funnel it through culverts under the canal; the trunk of the canal itself; the towpath, on the river side of the canal—a strong bank forming the canal as well as a path for the horses and mules; and below the towpath, a soakage ditch to collect water seeping from the canal, and direct it to streams so that cultivated bottom land would not be ruined. At intervals along the canal are found spillways to regulate the water flow.

It is hard for many persons today to realize the importance of the Rivanna River in the nineteenth century. They cannot visualize the volume of travel and commerce on the Rivanna 100 years ago. Pleasure excursions on the river were frequent. Mrs. J. L. Carroll's mother kept a delightful newspaper account which tells how two young men joined a group of 48 young people on an Easter Monday outing around 1895. The following excerpts are from the droll sketch of the trip from Carysbrook to Columbia:

" . . . Well, we plodded along up the bank and finally met a mule with a rope tied to him, and one of the descendants of Ham perched sleepily on his back—the mule's back I mean. After a while we met the boat, and the good natured manager and promoter of the scheme wanted to know if we wished to get on.

"We replied that we had ridden all over Fluvanna for that purpose alone, whereupon he ran into the bank and we got aboard, and moved smoothly down the pleasant stream regaled by the delightful music of the Fork Union Band whose reputation is already deservedly won. . . .

"As we glided along, different things of interest to the tourists were pointed out to us. First East Point, where Aunt Lavinia sits and follows the apostolic calling so much praised by the Puritans. Then the splendid farm of Mr. Marion Wood, where watermelons attain the size of hogsheads, and sweet potato vines reach such a length as to span the river. Then Buzzard's Rock, an immense cliff where so many of the graceful birds whose name it bears rest their wearied pinions. Then Stillman's Mill where the biggest fish stories of the world originate.

"Then, lastly, Columbia, nestled quietly on the banks of the majestic James, whose tranquility is disturbed only by the shriek of the locomotive and the yells of an Easter party. It was understood at the outset that the object of our going to Columbia was to come back. So as soon as we got there we began to make preparations for returning.

"The thing that puzzled us most was how to turn around. Everybody had a different suggestion to make, but we all finally decided to leave it to the

mule, whose sagacity in boatology was equalled only by the size of his ears, or to our giant-statured and ebony-featured Captain, Peter . . . he succeeded in turning the boat around, which was the principal thing at that time. After getting straight a delightful dinner was served that would rival the menu of the finest Atlantic steamers. . . "

There was a large store at East Point (where the Carys Creek enters the Rivanna) during the last half of the nineteenth century, kept by Robert Anderson. It was a meeting place for the people of the neighborhood and the river boatmen. It was said that if you wanted to do business you went to Ashlin's Mills, but "if you want a good time, go to East Point."

An October, 1881, entry in Gideon Underhill's diary reads something like this: "J. S. U. arrived from New York today—met him at the boat at East Point." An invoice of his dated August 25, 1874, for a shipment of one hogshead of tobacco shipped from East Point to Richmond lists the charges: "Freight charges, \$1.50; Rivanna Toll, \$0.24; James River, ditto, \$1.69."

Research has led to the conclusion that there were few packet boats on the Rivanna, but that the freight coats carried passengers. When the boats reached the locks, the passengers would sometimes get off to stretch their legs. The boats going upstream would enter the lock, which contained a minimum of water. Then the lower gates would be closed and the small metal wicket gate in the upstream gates would be opened to begin filling the lock. This relieved the pressure against the tall miter gates which opened upstream. With these upper gates open and the lock full of water, the boat continued upstream.

It seems that only one steamboat ever ran on the Rivanna. They were not usually used on canals as the wash of the paddles tended to ruin the banks of the canal, but in spite of this, as early as 1844, Col. Randolph made a resolution at a meeting of directors that they procure information as to the practicality and feasibility of introducing and using steamboat navigation on the Rivanna. Nothing seems to have come of this resolution, but many years later Mr. William Ronald Cocke, Jr. did put a steam engine and paddles on his

boat. It delighted the river people of the day, but it is said that it traveled no faster than the mule drawn boats. It sank in a bend in the Rivanna during high water about 1890, and is still there today. Explorers delight in examining the relic. Built of heart pine timbers, it was about 80 feet long and had a maximum width of about 10 feet.

It is said that one mule could pull a boat loaded with 350 railway ties. A wagon was usually loaded with 15 to 20 ties and pulled by two mules. Many ties for the building of the railroad along the James River were transported down the Rivanna.

The Rivanna Navigation Company survived the Civil War with apparently little damage. The great flood of 1870, however, damaged it severely. It still would not give up, and in 1871 the company borrowed money for repairs and extension of the line. The company had, at an earlier date, ridded itself of a legal obligation in the following curious way: in 1856 Thomas Wood had been made trustee of the company, which ownership included "five slaves and one packet boat," and he had been obligated to sell the company if it had not paid all its debts by 1862. The debts had not been paid, and in 1871, the obligation still remaining, was removed by selling the company, "so that said company might itself become the purchaser thereof at such sale." This satisfied the creditors and the company got back to work.

Fluvanna County voted \$10,000 and Albemarle \$20,000 in 1871 for the repair and extension of the navigation. According to one source, two dams were constructed, one above Milton, the other above Shadwell. But floods soon damaged them and they were abandoned. It is a puzzle why Albemarle would vote such a large amount to the navigation system on the Rivanna when they already had rail service through Charlottesville.

The descendants of Dr. Dudley Boston of Red Hill at Bernardsburg give an account of a Navigation Company meeting about this time. It is said that Dr. Boston enjoyed telling of this meeting. Since most of the funds had been raised in Albemarle, naturally the Albemarle faction wanted the funds spent on building an extension so that the end of navigation would be nearer Charlottesville. Others wanted the funds spent on repairing the part already in use.

Baron William R. Staehling, although of Albemarle, sided

with the Fluvanna faction. Col. Randolph (Jefferson's son-in-law) became very indignant and said "they would excuse his stand because of his foreigner's ignorance." Whereupon the Baron jumped to his feet and stated that "he thought in this case foreign ignorance was much to be preferred to local stupidity." According to this account, the funds were spent on the existing dams and locks and any left over was to be spent on the continuation of the canal above Union Mills. However, it seems the canal was never extended.

After 1880 freight sent down the Rivanna was transferred to the railroad. For in 1880 the James River-Kanawha Canal was sold to the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad Company, now the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company. The railroad was completed from Richmond to Columbia, along the towpath, within the same year.

The Rivanna navigation persisted, as a branch line of the railroad, which was supposed to maintain it up to Carysbrook. An agreement in 1880 specified that if the canal from Columbia to Rivanna Mills were discontinued, the railroad was to build a branch line to replace it. Julian Jones, who was reared on Carysbrook Farm tells of spending a summer taking soundings in the canal. The measurements were to be used in a court case against the railroad to show that the canal and towpath were not being maintained properly. The navigation system gradually decayed, and the Virginia Air Line Railroad, now part of the Chesapeake & Ohio, was built through the county in 1908, following the river only from above Carysbrook through Palmyra.

But the Rivanna navigation was at its busiest just before its demise. The ties and rails and other supplies for the Air Line Railway were brought up the Rivanna.

Many older citizens of Fluvanna have stories to tell of the adventures of freighting on the Rivanna. Capt. J. H. Anderson found he could not "negotiate" the locks at Palmyra during a flood because the current was too strong. His son tells how Capt. Anderson rode his boat, loaded with wheat, over the mill dam. But another captain, when he found himself in a like situation, ordered his men to jump overboard. The boat hung on the top of the dam and broke up.

There was always a man who walked behind the mules on the towpath, and this driver was sometimes called a "hoggee." Mr. Julian Jones tells a delightful story of mutiny on the

part of the mule driver. This driver was offended by the orders shouted to him by the captain of the boat. The captain's tone was too peremptory for his liking. He stopped his mule, unhitched the towline, and headed—leading the mule—back down the towpath to home port, leaving the boat stranded.

Mr. Jones also remembered that when his father's boat would become stuck on a sandbar, they would just put "Old Peter" over the side and he would lift the boat right off the bar. Peter is remembered by many as an unusually big and powerful man.

And any man who lived on the river around 1900 can tell you about Mr. Wilmer White's mule named Scott—"the kickin'est mule in seven counties"—who pulled a load of lumber downriver in the morning and a load of supplies for the new railroad back up in the evening.

Navigation on the Rivanna died, but some of the mills were still used. Rivanna Mills continued a thriving center until around World War I.

The wholesale abandonment of the Virginia navigation systems and canals has given the popular impression that they were unsuccessful. Yet they were not less successful than horse-drawn carriages or steam engines. (Automobiles, too, may disappear after having given good service!)

Canals and river improvements were used by the early settlers of Virginia when the railroad was unheard of. Goods had to get to market, and water transport was the best way. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century when the railroads were found worthwhile, river navigation continued to develop. This was partly because it was a tried and true system and less expensive than rail transport, and partly because the investment was already too great to be thrown away until the last minute.

What will be the future of the remains of the Rivanna Navigation Company? The beautiful stone locks and other structures line 25 miles of the Rivanna in Fluvanna County. Something could be done to save this while it is still so ideal for the enjoyment of those who love to hike, fish, picnic or explore. The towpath could be a cycling path or bridle path, and a perfect nature trail. The bluffs along the river are the habitat of rare and lovely wildflowers and countless species of birds.

Why preserve the navigational structures? It has been said, "Nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how

the present came to be what it is. . . . by looking at things people used and that show the way they lived, a better and truer impression can be gained than could be had in a month of reading—even if there were books whose authors had the facilities to discover the minute details of the older life.”

Such undeveloped areas as are here described as existing on the Rivanna River are becoming increasingly rare on our eastern seaboard—and here is a chance to save the best of it.

MINNIE LEE MCGEEHEE

August 1, 1967

We would like to express our gratitude to Dr. W. E. Trout, III, for his interest in “our River,” for his encouragement that has led to this endeavor, and for his generosity in sharing his research notes and his vast, yet intimate, knowledge of river navigation.

M. L. Mc.

The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$1.50; a life membership costs \$25.00. A bulletin will be published twice a year, to be distributed for fifty cents a copy. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The Society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: The Editor, Bulletin of the Historical Society, Palmyra, Virginia.

The Bulletin of the
FLUVANNA COUNTY
Historical Society

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JUNE 1968



COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

Built in 1830

9173

CLARA COCKE FORSYTH

(1909-1968)

This issue of the Bulletin of the Fluvanna County Historical Society is dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Thomas Forsyth (née Clara Pollard Cocke) who died April 14, 1968. She was a charter member of the Society and had edited the Bulletin since its inception.

A native of Columbus, Mississippi, Mrs. Forsyth was the daughter of Cary Hartwell Cocke, who had been born at "Lower Bremo" here in Fluvanna County, and of May Richards Cocke, and grew up at "Malvern," her parents' plantation near Columbus. Her education, begun by her mother at home, was continued in the public schools of Columbus and at the Mississippi State College for Women. She was a teacher at St. Mary's School in Memphis, Tennessee.

Mrs. Forsyth is survived by her husband, Thomas Forsyth of Bremo Bluff and her daughter, Mrs. Claire Koch, and three grandchildren of Bern, Switzerland.

To Mrs. Forsyth, whose personality was a rare blend of the aesthetic and the intellectual, the Society is indebted for her many services—particularly her editorial work, for which she modestly declined any credit. Her going has impoverished us all.

JOHN HARTWELL COCKE: SOUTHERN ORIGINAL*

BY BOYD COYNER **

Every state of society has, happily, its originals; men and women who, in more or fewer respects, think, speak, and act, naturally and unconsciously, in a different way from the generality of men.

Harriet Martineau

More than a half-century ago Henry Adams cast his somewhat jaundiced gaze at these Southern states to pronounce a caustic indictment. To a depressingly unflattering description of Roonie Lee whom he had known at Harvard, Adams added these unpleasanties: "Strictly," he wrote, "the Southerner had no mind; he had temperament. He was not a scholar; he had no intellectual training; he could not analyze an idea, and he could not even conceive of admitting two" A generation ago Wilbur Cash cited these derogatory phrases in support of his thesis that residents of the Old South did not think; they felt. The Mind of the South, Mr. Cash concluded in his work of that title, was monolithic and closed; it was incapable of analysis.

John Hartwell Cocke of Fluvanna County, Virginia, whose life spanned the years from the Revolution to Reconstruction, was in his own way as severe a critic of the South as Messrs. Adams and Cash; and by his stubborn detachment from the generality of his fellows, Cocke offers a kind of symbolic rebuttal to the concept of the Southern mind as an unthinking monolith. Inspired alike by Jeffersonian rationalism and nineteenth century romantic humanitarianism, Cocke was a reformer by instinct. His restless dissatisfaction with the world as he found it led him to champion a variety of unpopular causes; the vigor and independence of his spirit sent him in

* This paper was delivered as an address to the Fluvanna County Historical Society at Brems on September 13, 1964.

** Mr. Coyner has a grant from the Cooperative Program in the Humanities at Duke and the University of North Carolina for 1968-69 to finish the biography of General Cocke. He is now Professor of History at Hampden-Sydney College and will join the faculty at the College of William and Mary in the fall of 1969.

perpetual search of new solutions to old problems. A "pioneer of modern social reform" he has been called; a planter "of unusual independence of mind," "the outstanding social reformer" in the Old South writes another. Professor Clement Eaton chose Cocke for an essay—"as exemplar of the liberal facet of the Southern mind"—in his *Mind of the Old South*. Significant pioneer in agriculture and architecture, in manners, morals, transportation and education, there was no one quite like him in the South.

There was not a great deal in Cocke's heritage to suggest such a man. Son of one of the wealthiest planters in Virginia, he inherited 5000 acres in the lush James River bottoms. In some respects his life was conventional enough: he was a distinguished example of that not unfamiliar figure, the successful planter who gave his time and energy to a great number of public enterprises. He was, to be sure, more enterprising than most. Many of his contemporaries took up arms as citizen soldiers in the War of 1812, but Cocke rose within eighteen months from the rank of captain to that of brigadier general. If many of his fellow Virginians were concerned with education, John Hartwell Cocke became—with Jefferson and Joseph Cabell—one of the three fathers of the University of Virginia. Many worked to bind state and nation with better transportation, but few labored with the persistence and practical good sense which Cocke brought to the building of the James River Canal.

Cocke was more, however, than the public-spirited patriot. He had an intensely critical mind that set him apart from the custom and drift of his environment. From his constant travel and from his books Cocke knew the intellectual and moral ferment of his time far better than most of those around him. There was also in Cocke the reaction of a very able gentleman, representative of a passing aristocracy that was being pushed aside in the press of democracy, rendering judgments on a society that seemed blind to genuine virtue and talent. His was not the only patrician sniff of distaste in the utopian urge of nineteenth century reform.

In no area does Cocke's stubborn independence appear more forcefully than in his continuing hostility to human slavery. Born in 1780, he was educated in that post-Revolutionary era when well-bred Virginians felt the moral burden of the institution of slavery. "I have long & do still stedfastly

believe," Cocke wrote in 1832, "that Slavery is the great cause of all the chief evils of our land, individual as well as national." If rhetoric permitted over-simplification, this sensitive Virginian was not without the gift of prophecy. He continued:

and while every man of common foresight & reflection is obliged to admit, that we or our posterity are inevitably destined to be overwhelmed unless the cause is removed, in the name of wonder how is it, that all will not agree to go faithfully & honestly about the work of removing this blot upon our national escutcheon, this cancer eating upon the vitals of the Commonwealth.

While his contemporaries closed their minds in defense of this cancer, the aging General retained his hostility. He rededicated his life in 1843 "to the amelioration of Slavery in my native State . . . for the ultimate extermination of this sorest and most afflictive evil of our day & generation in the Southern States." Slavery was a triple curse, he wrote in 1844, to the enslaved, to the master, and to the country which bore it. In 1846 he expressed his ultimate faith in the ever-present appeal to the Southern master, made "before his minds eye" by "his suppliant slave . . . in chains & with the words in his mouth, Am I not man & brother?" "How would our Anglo Saxon race regard the argument . . . in favor of servile submission!" Cocke wrote in 1851; the white man would claim the right of resistance, and Cocke wondered how it could be denied to the slave. He not only read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with approval, but took a lively interest in Harriet Stowe. On his next trip to the North he recorded in his journal that he "went to call on Mrs. Stowe, who was absent in Boston." He met her husband, Calvin Stowe, however, who received him with kindness, he noted.

Coupled with this zealous hatred of slavery was a notable absence of sectional rancor. New Englanders, he reported in 1829, "as enlightened, enterprising, liberal, & pious communities . . . are a century in advance of us." In 1838 he felt in some degree justified in the assumption that "Our improvements come from the North." "Thank God the Yankees are at hand," he rejoiced in 1844 at the prospect of trading with Northern lime dealers in preference to his

fellow Virginians. Northerners were "the greatest people on Earth." Such cities as Boston and New York were cultural and spiritual oases, where men were devoted to education, religion, efficiency, and progress. As late as October 1860, two months before the secession of South Carolina, Cocke wrote from New York City that his Yankee brethren were "beyond comparison . . . the best part of our nation." He hailed the commercial and industrial expansion of the North with particular favor, and saw in the spread of these forces to the South an agency of rejuvenation. On the prospect of an influx of engineers into Virginia in 1835, he rejoiced:

We shall soon have a brilliant corps of a new order of human beings in the meridian of the Ancient Dominion—a corps of *scientific working* gentlemen—each *one* of whom will be worth to the community six doctors & as many lawyers, & at least a cowpen full of our Jimmy-Jessimy Gentlemen at large. I hope a new day is open upon us.

With all of his independence, however, Cocke stopped short of radical solutions. If he hated the institution of slavery, he could not bring himself to wholesale emancipation. He wrote a Northern friend in 1837,

there is not a shadow of doubt in my mind, that if the negro race of Va. in their present unprepared state were forthwith universally emancipated, that an amount of human suffering & mortality tenfold as great would take [place] as is now the consequence of slavery.

The whites in control of government and power would dominate;

a portion of the blacks would doubtless support themselves but a vast majority by their very ignorance & imprudent habits would soon perish by pestilence & famine, to say nothing of war, in which the weaker & worse furnished party would inevitably be the greatest sufferers.

The difficulties in the way of the "Holy Cause" of emancipation, he wrote in 1831, "are greater than any one who is not the inhabitant of a slave state can well conceive." It is a

poor commentary on the quality of human hope that even such men as Cocke and Jefferson could not foresee more accurately the consequences of emancipation.

If the barriers to emancipation were formidable, Cocke attacked them with characteristic zeal. For many leaders of the early anti-slavery movement, a republic of freedmen on the coast of Africa provided a glimmer of hope. Cocke affiliated himself with this venture in Colonization as soon as he heard of it; he was one of the earliest vice-presidents of the American Colonization Society, and a generous contributor to the Liberian scheme. He chose the ablest and most promising of his own slaves and—with their voluntary agreement—freed them, outfitted them, and allowed them to settle in Liberia. The first family so freed was that of a stone mason, Peyton Skipwith. He was, Cocke wrote, “an intelligent & skillful man for his station;”

his intelligent, & to some degree cultivated mind [Cocke believed], his qualifications as a mechanick, being a first rate mason & stone cutter; but above all, his Christian walk & conversation, and his un-deviating adherence for three years last past, to the requisitions of Temperance reformation

qualified him for freedom. There is no finer tribute to Cocke than the long series of affectionate letters written to him from Liberia by this stone mason, and by other Negroes who joined him on the African coast.

Unfortunately, Cocke felt that there were few slaves as qualified as Peyton Skipwith. The vast residue of “common working negroes of the farm,” Cocke wrote in 1831, were

in such a state of abject ignorance as would sink them below the lowest grade of menial servant in our free & enlightened community, & in their present state must be mere hewers of wood & drawers of water in any community enlightened enough to be under a civil government.

If this barrier too, was formidable, Cocke attacked it with intelligence and energy. His work in educating Negroes was perhaps his most notable contribution.

Cocke himself preached to his slaves the lessons of sobriety and virtue. He added a white chaplain to his plantation staff,

built churches on both his Alabama and Virginia plantations, and offered liberal rewards for lives that were temperate and orderly. More significantly, he employed a young white woman from the North to live at his home to teach young Negroes the three R's. When the Commonwealth barbarously forbade the employment of white people for such purposes in 1831, there were enough literate slaves to join Mrs. Cocke to continue this worthy and decent enterprise. A rich collection of letters from slaves deposited with the Cocke papers at the University of Virginia witnesses to the successes of this effort.

Nor was Cocke content with his program of education, moral uplift, and colonization. He launched an ambitious experiment in Alabama, designed to prove to all slaveholders that Negroes could earn their own freedom in preparation for emigration. To execute his experiment, the Virginian bought 1800 acres of rich canebrake soil in what is now Hale County, Alabama, in the 1840's and '50's. On this fertile prairieland cotton plantation, he estimated that in seven years each Negro could earn for his master the price of his own freedom, interest on the capital invested, and all the costs of plantation operation, including, as he wrote, "the cost of moral & religious instruction to prepare them for their new condition." By the 1850's General Cocke had sixty-five Negroes living and working in Alabama, apprentices laboring in his school for emancipation. He believed that the "successful prosecution" of this scheme "would be fraught with the happiest consequences to our beloved country." It would "reflect imperishable honor upon the name of the first man who demonstrates its practicability" William Short of Philadelphia, Cocke's old friend, and one-time protégé of Thomas Jefferson's, wrote the General in December of 1837: "Your plan of liberation seems to me the best I have heard of, & may God grant you that success which you merit in it."

However merited, success did not come. If moral vigor inspired Cocke with compassion for the Negro, he brought to his project the rigid moral demands of evangelistic Christianity. He was able to manufacture few models of Victorian propriety. The moral derelictions among his people drove the General to despair that he could ever raise them to the level of civilization to which he aspired. "Let the man who under-

takes the moral reform of the best of our race prepare to bear a heavy cross," he wrote in 1852; "but, in reforming the degraded subjects of the Southern Institution he may expect a burthen almost too heavy to be bourne" Furthermore, his clergymen did not always confine themselves to moral uplift. George Skipwith, the Negro foreman in Alabama, wrote his absent master of the Reverend Mr. Taylor in 1847:

i knoe sir that mr Taylor has don more harm amoung our people than he has don good for he says that we are treated worse than any peopel in the world and if there is any in the world treated any worse he has never herde talk of them and this he says he will tell to every boddy that ask him any thing about us. he has spoken very free about the matter and master John [Cocke's manager, John Cocke of Greene County, Alabama] saw that he was doing more halm than he was doing good and he turned him off I knoe that you always did think hily of ministers and christians i cant say that mr Taylor was not a christian but he aked very comical the time he was with us

The total results were scarcely an encouragement. When the Civil War put an end to his program after twenty years of effort, only fourteen souls had been dispatched to Liberia, graduates of Cocke's experiment in Alabama.

It is easy after a hundred years to dismiss his efforts as a quixotic failure. Certainly his lit candle burned dim against the darkness that was coming. He was striving in times out of joint; the Jeffersonian middle ground was a vanishing faith. To judge harshly, he sent only fourteen Negroes to a struggling African republic, and he taught a moiety of blacks to read and write. He inspired few if any whites to emulate his example and, in fact, lived to see his own sons reject the Alabama experiment. From such visionaries flows leadership when the popular mind is ripe. In Cocke's time it was not, and for that reason he failed.

If the blunt independence of Cocke's mind stands out most starkly in his unyielding hatred of slavery, nothing reveals so well his bold originality as his taste as a builder. No more handsome home stands in America than the mansion at Upper Breemo. "Of all the houses in the Jeffersonian tradition, not

even excepting Monticello," wrote Fiske Kimball, "it is Bremond which makes the deepest impression of artistic perfection." To another historian of American architecture, it "is an extremely bold and mature design, more architectonic and assured than the Virginia state capitol . . . and even more assured than Monticello . . ." Once said to have been designed by Jefferson himself, the former president in fact contributed more in spirit than in substance. It was General Cocke and his contractors who took the suggestions of many individuals and merged them in this superb form. They created in Upper Bremond the capstone of the Greek revival.

Even more original and prophetic was Cocke's anticipation of the Gothic revival. Some years before the flowering of this movement in America, the General was building homes that suggested it. In the 1830's, almost ten years before the English cottage style was popularized by Andrew J. Downing, Cocke remodeled Bremond Recess to its present form. His inspiration was evidently a private one, the result of his own shifting taste, his search for a more modest architectural expression. His specific inspirations, as he wrote, were "the well remembered, old six-chimney house in Wmsburg once the property of the Custis Family, and Bacon's Castle in Surry." When he built a home for his son Charles at Lower Bremond in 1939-41, it was likewise in the so-called cottage style, reminiscent of Good Queen Bess rather than the glories of the ancient world.

If General Cocke had never owned a slave or designed a building, he would be worth remembering as a progressive farmer. In my doctoral dissertation I recount in excruciating detail his many contributions in this field. It should suffice here to say that he pioneered in much, and was always among the first to employ new practices. Long before Edmund Ruffin popularized the use of marl, that blessed rejuvenator of exhausted farmers and farms, Cocke had experimented with its calcareous benefits. On his first venture to Alabama he noticed marl-like deposits, phenomena in which the natives exhibited no interest. He had this substance analyzed at the University of Virginia and became, Ruffin believed, the first man in Alabama to employ it. His example was widely copied to the benefit of the Black Belt, and Alabama planters are still marling in the 1960's. His progressive and active spirit led him to much else: he was among the first Southerners to lay

out a thoroughly planned system of hillside terracing; he was among the early practitioners of reforestation and timber culture; he developed a notable strain of corn, famous in his day as "Cocke's Prolific." I could surely exhaust your patience with more of the same.

General Cocke's final vision in agriculture, reached after his sixtieth year, was the transformation of the plantation to the farm, from subtropical staples to grain and livestock. He created in central Virginia what a neighbor dubbed a "Yankee farm." After raising tobacco for forty years in the lowgrounds of Breemo, he banished that fragrant staple from his soil. He developed in time a ferocious hatred for the weed, and denounced it in a widely-read pamphlet as the Bane of Virginia Agriculture. I wonder that the American Cancer Society has not reproduced his invective. His assault on tobacco did not endear Cocke to his contemporaries, but surely his spirit would rejoice today to see his old lands in Virginia and Alabama conform to his vision of pasture and small grain.

On an October day in 1828 General Cocke made what may have been the boldest of all his resolutions. At a Baptist meeting house he made his decision to renounce the use of strong drink. This was a fearless and unorthodox act for his class and generation. Temperance flourished among the middle classes, and few of the gentry or the poor were lured into its ranks. Cocke tells us that he was among the first of his class to take the pledge of abstention. He describes the scene when he first told his old college-mate, the lawyer and United States Senator, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of his decision. Leigh, Cocke wrote, fixed him with his penetrating stare, and in his well-remembered fashion intoned simply "Lo-o-o-ord!"

The General was nothing if not courageous, and persisted in his new cause. He became vice-president of the Virginia Society for the Promotion of Temperance in 1830, president of the first Virginia Temperance Convention in 1834, and in 1836 first president of the American Temperance Union, an office he held until his resignation in 1843. He was zealous in the organization of chapters of the Sons of Temperance, gave inducements to young teetotalers, exhortations to his blacks, and preachments to his friends.

For this activity Cocke wins fewer friends today than he did a century ago. If—once more—he was a pioneer in a new crusade, Prohibition has (we note) come and gone. One gentleman, in fact, writing in the *Saturday Review*, questions Professor Eaton's classification of Cocke as a liberal on the basis of his teetotalism. The categorization of liberal "becomes strained," we are told, when applied to a man "who thought a friendly drink anti-christian." Although the adjective "liberal" is rather obscured in a jungle of semantics, the alcohol test seems severe. I prefer to call Cocke a gentleman of independent (as against liberal) mind, a mind heavily influenced by the democratic-humanitarian reforms emanating from Old and New England alike. These movements were so strongly intermixed with the various evangelical crusades that I find it painfully unhistorical to question Cocke's liberalism on the character of his potables. If a deep dissatisfaction with the backwardness of his own people and energetic efforts to bring them into the mainstream of contemporary civilization have anything to do with liberalism, then General Cocke has some of the qualifications. But, I suspect, we would all do well to banish "liberal" from our lexicon until an American Academy standardizes its meaning.

One detects today more tolerance for the Victorians than they have enjoyed in some years. More knowledge of the seamier side of the eighteenth century breeds more tolerance for the moral earnestness of the Victorians. At any rate, the old battles against prudery are over, Mencken's work is done, and a harbinger of Victorian piety can be viewed as merely quaint at worst, and at best as an apostle of human betterment.

When John Hartwell Cocke was planning a vineyard in 1816, Thomas Jefferson wrote of him, "there is no person in the U. S. in whose success I should have so much confidence. He is rich, liberal, patriotic, judicious and persevering." Cocke was once seriously considered for the governorship of Virginia; he was elected to succeed John Taylor as the second president of the Virginia Agricultural Society; he was a valuable member of the boards supervising the University of Virginia and the James River Canal. Politics he eschewed, however, and he has missed the reputation he might otherwise have earned in a state where the first accolades are reserved for statesmen and soldiers. "Politics are a muddy

pool, and those who dabble most in it, will come off dirtiest," Cocke wrote in 1829. He resisted Joseph Cabell's pleas that he offer for the legislature to join "the small band of honest & liberal men in defending the best interests of the country" against "ignorance and knavery." "Alas!" Cocke wrote in 1845, "when will our countrymen have a true sense of their dignity as freemen, which ought to be offended rather than complimented by being solicited for their votes." His impatience with the indolence—the "miasmata"—he saw around him was ill-disguised. And, in return, his dislikes were sometimes reciprocated. An old toast in Fluvanna County went thus:

Here's to the great state of Fluvanna. May she be delivered from the sheep-sorrel and the Timberlakes, from the Hessian fly and John Hartwell Cocke, and by God's help old 'Flu' will come through all right.

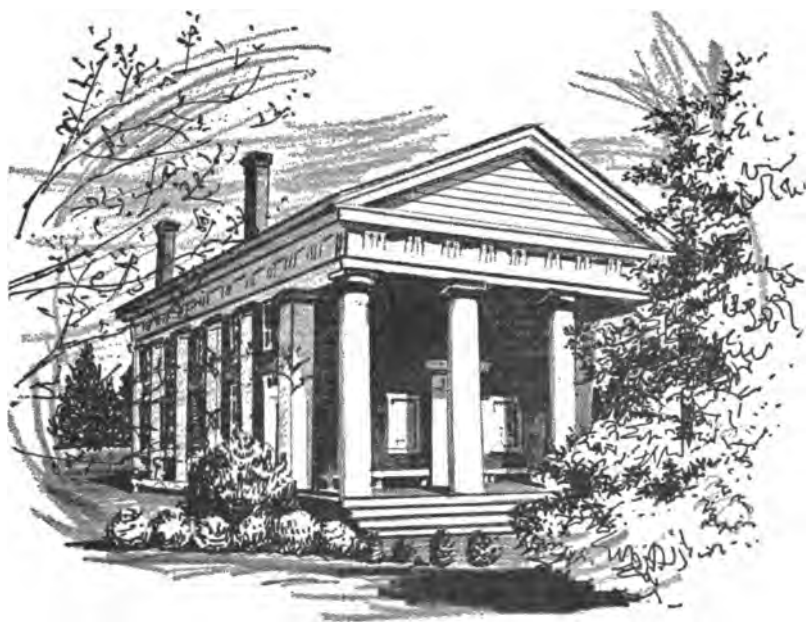
Prophets are often without honor.

Stanley Elkins, in his *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, has much criticism for both North and South and their inability to cope with the challenge of human bondage. What was needed in the South, he wrote, were planters who educated their slaves, "law or no law," who Christianized them, "ridicule or no ridicule," who let them work for their own independence. "All this certainly did occur in the South," he declared, but there was lacking "at least a scattered community of guilty slaveholders . . . who were willing to incur some displeasure in their neighborhoods but whose activity would in a wider sense be recognized as virtuous, not only among themselves but by antislavery people everywhere." What was lacking, he seems to be saying, were more John Hartwell Cockes. We would not all of us disagree.

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COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

Built in 1830

Digitized by Google

173

FORK UNION DURING THE CIVIL WAR

THE LETTERS OF ORANIE VIRGINIA SNEAD

The extant Civil War letters of Oranie Virginia Snead written to a close girlhood friend possess an especial interest today as affording a brief picture of life in Fork Union in a little-known period. They not only illustrate the changes in that peaceful little village but make apparent the almost universal hope of victory steadfastly held by Southerners until the crushing news came of the burning of Richmond and the Surrender at Appomattox. The details from "Jennie" Snead's youthful pen may be clarified for the reader by the addition of facts from such documents as the census of 1860, old road maps, church minutes, and county, family and other records of the period.

Tradition has it that not until the Fork Church was built in 1824 and there was a sufficient number of people in the locality to justify the Federal Government in establishing a post office did Fork Union acquire its name. Since the Fork Church stood in the center of the village where the main road forked, and was a "union" church, free for all denominations to use, the new post office was naturally named Fork Union. Hard by the church stood Temperance Hall with its handsome Greek facade. Some years before 1860 this building had been donated and evidently designed by the distinguished owner of Bremono, General John H. Cocke, as a gift to the community to further the cause of temperance, in which he was an ardent and national leader. That period was the heyday of temperance societies; and when Temperance Hall was dedicated there had been a great procession down the hill "from Bashaws" in which women as well as men proudly marched, proclaiming their allegiance to The Cause.

In 1860 approximately seventy-eight families of Fluvanna's rolling country-side used Fork Union as a post office. They lived along the road from Dixie to the present Cohasset, along the Bremono road as far as its junction with the road to Winnsville which formed "the loop," and of course along the side roads branching off from these main and muddy (or dusty) highways. At that time the census listed a total of 990 white and free colored families in Fluvanna County and a population of 5,365. Throughout the Fork section lived descendants

of families who had moved in the eighteenth century from Hanover "west" to Fluvanna (then Albemarle) where land was cheaper and there was a larger opportunity for younger sons—Norvells, Hughes, Winns, Andersons, Sneads and many others. By 1860 Sneads were found north, east and west of Fork Union. In the 1820s three Snead brothers had married three Pollard sisters; and since each couple produced seven sons, several of the twenty-one cousins had established homes of their own in the Fork section.

The village of Fork Union had mercantile establishments, a blacksmith shop, a tannery and the usual collection of small businesses of that day. The post office was on the other side of the south branch of Cary Creek, now called Judy Creek, a stream of no mean proportion then, on the property of the postmaster, George Holman Snead, who was paid by the Federal Government for serving in that capacity in 1856 (the latest date available) a salary of \$58.63. The revenue received by the Government from the post office was \$24.38, a sum indicating that before 1860 the citizens of Fork Union were little concerned with the outside world. The postmaster's house, Rose Hill, situated on the hill above the tiny post office, looked across Cary Creek to the village. At that time it housed himself, his wife, the three youngest of their seven sons, and their only daughter and youngest child Virginia (Jennie). Farther west along that road lived the Clements, Woods, Oppenheimers, Winns, Hensons, Woolings and a few others. Corinth Church stood on Corinth Hill opposite the Oppenheimers, and a short distance to the west the Fluvanna Institute adjoined the Winn lands.

This important school for young ladies, Fluvanna Institute, was founded in 1855 by John Waller Henson. In 1860 his brother, the Rev. Poindexter Smith Henson, a graduate of Richmond College and the University of Virginia, was principal. A gifted teacher and "a man of parts," Poindexter Henson was remembered and quoted more than fifty years later with admiring affection by his former pupils. This illustrious son of Fluvanna served as pastor of three large northern churches during his long life after Fluvanna Institute became a casualty of the poverty following the Civil War.

That the Institute deserved a better fate is evidenced by its catalogue for 1859, which stated that the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia at its last session had granted it

a charter empowering the faculty to award diplomas and confer degrees: "It may therefore be now considered a permanent establishment where young ladies may complete, not their education, but a course of studies as extended and thorough as that pursued at any other female institution in the country." Young ladies who completed the collegiate course in mathematics, moral philosophy, natural sciences and one of the languages received the degree of A.B. Those who completed the university course and three of the languages received the degree of A.M. Apparently no credit toward a degree was given for courses offered in music, art and embroidery.

The main building of the Institute was of brick, 144 feet long, with accommodations for sixty students and faculty, recitation rooms, a dining room and a chapel forty feet square, the whole heated by a "spiral wood furnace." Every apartment of this modern building was "completely ventilated." The brick kitchen, quarters and other outbuildings stood behind the main building.

Fifty-eight fortunate young ladies from eleven counties attended Fluvanna Institute in the 1857-58 session. From Fluvanna came Emma C. Anderson, Josephine Anderson, Julia Anderson, Mittie M. Applebury (sic), Nannie Duncan, Virgin (sic) D. Griffin, Lucie M. Holland, Mary S. Hughes, Ann E. Minter, Jennie Snead, Ella E. Snead, Mary B. Seay, Nannie E. Shepherd, Mary J. Shepherd, M. Frances Scruggs, Helen Sadler, Lillian C. Thomas, Lucie A. Thomas, Mary J. Thomas, Rosa Tisdale, Mary F. Williams, Martha J. Wren, Alwilda C. White; from Amherst came Isabella M. Henley, Lucie M. Mantiple, Sallie J. Settle; from Appomattox came Josephine Abbit; from Buckingham came Anne E. Boatwright, Virgin (sic) W. Burress, Lucie J. Burress, Mary W. Brooks, Sallie E. Glover, Mary B. Glover, Susan E. Glover; from Cumberland came Mary Eliza Goodman and Angelia E. Goodman; from Chesterfield, Bettie T. Gregory; from Goochland, Mary E. Thomas; from Nelson came E. Marshall Elsom, Pocahontas Megginson, E. Claudine Shepherd; from Powhatan came Nellie F. Hicks, E. Scott Henning, M. Ella Mayo, Marcella J. Stratton, M. Lou Whitlock, Alice V. Whitlock, F. Adelaide Whitlock; from Prince Edward came Mattie J. Ligon and Emma A. Woodfin; from Spotsylvania came Mary A. Phillips and Calla B. Phillips.

The Institute began its sessions on the first Wednesday in October and held its commencement exercises on the first Wednesday in July. On that long day addresses were delivered to the student body, certificates of distinction and diplomas awarded, essays of the graduates read and degrees conferred. At night there was a "musical soirée."

After graduating from Fluvanna Institute with the degree of A.B. Jennie Snead continued her studies at Albemarle Female Institute in Charlottesville. There she enjoyed instruction from several distinguished professors at the University of Virginia who were permitted to give some of their time to lecturing at the Institute. In 1861 she was graduated with the degree of A.M.

Among the friends she made at the Albemarle Institute was Sallie Miller Broadus of Caroline, to whom were addressed the letters included here. Sallie saved the letters from her devoted friend Jennie, and they were eventually restored to her and preserved for sixty years. Unfortunately they were then lost, except a few which were rescued from a trash heap in the 1920s by a granddaughter of the writer. These are printed below exactly as they were written, save for the omission of a few items such as long pious exhortations and repetitive excuses for not having written earlier; also ampersands have been modernized. The letters are full of a young girl's zest for living, mixed with Victorian sentimentality and current information about Fork Union. At the time of the first letters Jennie Snead was eighteen years old and very pretty, with thick braids coiled about her head; probably spoiled by her brothers and parents, and yet popular with both masculine and feminine contemporaries.

Since the 1861 letters were lost and the first remaining letter was not written until May 1862, the excitement occasioned in Fork Union as Fluvanna men prepared to leave for war is indicated by three extracts from the minutes of the monthly business meetings of the male members of Fork Church, whose grounds were being used as drill grounds:

May 11, 1861. After sermon by the pastor it was proposed and agreed that no church meeting be held, owing to the excitement and noise consequent upon the drilling of military companies which suspended their exercises during the time of worship.

Saturday, June 11, 1861. The pastor being unwell and drilling going on by military companies, there was no preaching. After prayer the brethren present convened in church meeting.

August 10, 1861. As the drilling of the military companies was going on, the clerk wished to leave at an early hour. It was agreed to hold the church meeting before preaching. [M. B. Shepherd was clerk.] S. B. Jones and Benj. W. Snead were appointed to confer with officers in charge of military companies and agree upon some plan by which drilling and religious exercises may not conflict.

In the first letter, which follows, the well drilled Fluvanna companies have gone; the war seems distant and Fork Union a safe haven:

Rose Hill
May 15th, 1862

My darling Sallie,

The pang that pierced my heart a few moments since at the sad intelligence of your dear Brother could not have been much more intense had it been that of my near and dear relative. Although a stranger to me, yet so often had the name *Brother* fallen so affectionately from your lips, that from our close intimacy there had grown up within me a kindly and endearing feeling for him who was so dear to you. . . . He died at his post of duty, nobly defending his country's honor . . . Many noble souls have been sacrificed upon our country's altar and amongst that gallant number is that of Eugene Broadus. My sympathy for all of you, dear Sallie, is tender and heartfelt . . . I have three brothers exposed to the cannon's mouth—from whom I daily fear to hear—two under Johnston and one under Beauregard in the West. Gideon was in the battle at Williamsburg in the very hottest of the fight and escaped unhurt. He was also in a skirmish down there a day before where the bullets flew fast around him for more than an hour. Poor boy, he has had a hard service, without a tent, with very little to eat and is in the advance guard of the Army. Being nearly always engaged in skirmishing he does not have time to write but when last I heard from him he was hoping to get a furlough to go to see you. I do not suppose there is any chance for one in some time to

come yet. I have felt some uneasiness about your family all the while being so close to the enemy. It (- - - illegible)

We too will be in danger as we will be subject to marauding parties who will go out in every direction. Several families have come up to this neighborhood to board from Richmond. The Flu[vanna] Institute is a large building and can accommodate several families very comfortably. You will have to move your family with these up here.

Ma sends her love and tender sympathies to all of you. Accept the same from me. . . . (illegible)

loving and synpathising friend,

Jennie.

(Jennie's three brothers in the war at that time were Marcellus, Nash and Charles. The Gideon referred to is her double first cousin, Gideon Smith Snead. The romantic Jennie is endeavoring to start a romance between her cousin and her friend.)

SECOND LETTER

Rose Hill

May 31st—62

My dear Sallie,

. . . I am very sorry that you have been cut off from us but I have been expecting it for some time. I hope they will not disturb your family—tho' I think you are in great danger. Write to me whenever you get a chance as I shall always be glad and anxious to hear from you. Can't you come up and stay with me till the Yanks clear out? Come across the country or get on the boat above Richmond. Nearly everybody is flocking to Fork Union. We will have quite a little town after a while. Sallie, I wish you would come I'd meet you at Big Rock [Breemo Bluff]. The news we received this morning is rather more encouraging. Jackson that noble leader of "Spartans" has at last penetrated the enemies lines and is now standing with arms outspread to relieve the oppressed Marylanders. I know that God will bless the arms of so Christian a warrior. My *sweetheart* is with him—where he has so longed to be—in Maryland—unless he was killed in the last battle at Winchester, as I have not had a letter from him since. In a letter from Gid to his Pa a few weeks since, he spoke of coming home and going to see all his friends again. If he should survive the war—he and I will surely visit you as soon as

peace is made. He will not forget you—always asks when I heard from you—sends his love or something of the kind whenever he writes home, wh' has not been very often, You must excuse him from writing—until he has paid his duty to his country as he is a faithful and gallant soldier and doesn't have time to write home often—as he is so often on picket or marching. The rose slips I set out last fall are all in bloom. I wish very much I could get the fushia (sic) you promised me. I believe I hear the horn of the post boy which necessitates a conclusion. Sallie, I hope you will come and stay with me if you possibly can—as there is no danger of their getting here. Ma joins in love to all at your home. . . .

Write when you can to your
Aff—friend

Jennie

(This letter was written just after Jackson's Valley Campaign and illustrates how little in the days before telephone, radio and television was known by civilians about the strategic movements of the Confederates. On the very day that Jennie thought Jackson was in Maryland he had made his celebrated march from Harper's Ferry to Strasburg.

The "sweetheart" referred to is one of Jennie's suitors from the Valley of Virginia.

The rose slips were a thoughtful gift from another suitor, a captain of Light Artillery, whom Jennie had met while she was attending Albemarle Institute and he was practising law in Charlottesville. He gave up his practice to organize a company in March, 1862, for the war, and it served as an independent battery fighting under his name until May '64 when it became Company A, 12th Battalion, Virginia Light Artillery, a part of Anderson's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. More about him later.)

THIRD LETTER (Badly mutilated)

Rose Hill
July 26—62

- - - ie

I have rec'd your - - - have only a few minutes in wh' to answer it before the mail leaves here. I have written to you several times but suppose you have not rec'd any of my letters. Gid is safe and well. He has come out victoriously thro' every

battle and has had such a hard time his Pa has offered him a substitute wh' he will accept and will be at home the 1st of August. Come up here and stay with me until the war is over and then we will return with you. I wish you would come. I've written you several times but you don't seem inclined to heed. The neighborhood is very gay. I never saw so many young fellows here before. Three are staying down at Uncle Ben's and we have a hospital in the village. Write me word - - - come and I will - - - at the boat at - - - Mr. Campbell wi - - - staying here sends his - - - to you and says you must come. I havent time to write more now. . . .

Love to all
yr aff—friend
Jennie

(Gideon did not obtain a substitute but fought until the end of the war and died a few years after its conclusion.

The Temperance Hall, which had been used for many community activities as well as temperance meetings, was the "hospital in the village." In the church minutes for June, 1862, it is recorded that "the Pastor recommended that some provision be made for the benefit of wounded soldiers and that the Temperance Hall be fitted up as a hospital for that object.

S. B. Jones, Wm. Snead, George H. Snead, Jr., T. F. Bashaw and John N. Perkins, brethren, were appointed a committee to procure a suitable place and mature a proper plan for the receptacle of the wounded." Not only the church but the entire community participated in equipping Temperance Hall as a hospital. It is said that later the church also had to be used for the wounded.

"Uncle Ben" was Benjamin Weaver Snead, father of Gideon and Ella, a friend of Sallie's at Albemarle Institute. Ella was later Mrs. Charles Thomas. The mention of "Mr. Campbell" suggests that he was recuperating at Rose Hill.)

FOURTH LETTER

Rose Hill
September 30th

Dear Sallie

. . . Bro. Marcellus came home from the Western Army last week, sick. I had been staying at Uncle Seay's for several weeks when I heard that he was at home. You may imagine

my delight at his arrival, not having seen him for twelve months. Bro. Burl is at home now and sick with the jaundice. We have had a great deal of dypththeria in the neighborhood which has been extremely fatal among children. Four have died in our village. Bro. George has had it and is just recovering. He has had seventy patients with it. I am very much afraid of it and believe I will go to Ch'ville this week and stay a while. Gid told me of reading your letters and you mentioned having a beau for me. Send him up *as these articles are always marketable*. You were right mean not to come to see me. If you would go to Richmond you could come up here very easily in the boat. I'd send someone to meet you. . . . Gid is just as handsome as ever and frequently speaks of "Miss Sallie." Sallie, have you any patterns for working or stitching chemise bands? Send me something of that order. Don't forget your promise to send me a hair wreath. We haven't heard from the boys since the last battle and we are of course all anxiety. We hope and believe that they are safe however. How are goods selling in your county? Can't get a calico here for less than \$15. A worsted dress half cotton is worth \$25. I was sorry indeed to hear of the death of poor Sallie Timberlake. I know there must be great distress in that family. . . .

Ella told me she would write to you and sends her love to all. I am affly

Yr friend
Jennie

("Uncle Seay" was Burwell Weaver Seay of Cherry Hill, husband of Jennie's aunt, Katherine Pollard.

Bro. Burl was Jennie's oldest brother, Burwell William Snead, who was practising law in Charlottesville as early as 1850. Always frail, he died not long after this letter was written "of a galloping consumption."

Bro. George is Jennie's brother, Dr. George Holman Snead, Jr., who had graduated at the University of Virginia and continued his study of medicine in Philadelphia. He later became a minister as well as physician and was pastor of both Bethel and Fork Churches. His children used to complain that his patients did not pay him because he had a steady income from two churches, and that his churches were negligent in paying him because he enjoyed such a large medical practice that he did not need their scarce dollars. There may have been a modicum of truth in their complaints.

Phillip was the brother of Gideon.

Hair wreaths were made of a small lock of hair from the tresses of a dear friend or relative. The hair was plaited into a wreath and worn in a brooch, bracelet, or ring. Never very pretty or interesting as jewelry, hair wreaths and rings were cherished by their owners and were very fashionable. Examples of such jewelry may be seen at the Lee House, 707 East Franklin Street, Richmond, and at the White House of the Confederacy.

Sallie Timberlake is unidentified—probably a schoolmate of Jennie and Sallie at Albemarle Institute.)

LETTER FIVE

Rose Hill
Dec 10th—62

Dear Sallie

Your little letter was literally an excoriation yet I cannot complain as it was deserved. I had purposed writing to you for many weeks but that, like most of my good acts, had existence only in my mind and was not projected into action. . . . Well, first and foremost as to what is uppermost in my thoughts—as tis in every darkey's—Xmas—is ahead and we have a gay time in anticipation. I would like exceedingly to accept your invitation but am afraid to go, tis rather too near the Yankees—would be afraid of being paroled. The safest plan would be for you to come up here. I would ensure you a good time. I hope you may go to Richmond as Gid can more easily go to see you there than now. He will write to you very soon. I had a good time in Ch'ville tho not as gay as I had expected as nearly all of my old friends had left. I staid at the Institute chiefly and had a very pleasant time there. The house is nearly full of boarders—refugees. All of them are very nice people—mostly from Washington. Mr. Hart had only four boarding scholars. I wish very much your Pa would send you or Ally there as the opportunities for study are double what they ever were before as Mr. Hart devotes all of his time to them and has no other teacher and you well know his capability for teaching. This is only an excuse for not writing. Will write more at length in my next.

Aff-y
Jennie

(Mr. John Hart was head of the Albemarle Female Institute.)

Almost a year has passed since the above letter and Sallie and Ella Snead are again students at Albemarle Institute.

LETTER SIX

Oct 31st 63

My dear Sallie,

. . . I've been minus writing apparatus for many days and have not been able to replenish myself—my other correspondents have shared the same fate that you have. I shall only write as little as I can, as the prospect for scratching thro' is very dismal. Phil has just gotten up from Richmond and says that Gid has been to Ch'ville. Did you see him? Of course you did. How did you manage it? Is Mr. Hart as strict as he used to be? Sallie, you rascal, you must be sure and come home with Ella Xmas. Gid and all of the boys will be here and we anticipate a very gay time. We are preparing some what to have a grand concert also. Tell Ella she must get Mr. Frey to give her a piece to play and she must practice it to that end. Tell her also that I staid at her Bro. Nealie's last night and that Mr. Wm. Henry Winn was there. He came home with me and will call again tomorrow. Tell her that Edwin is well. Sallie, my brothers have lately been in a fight and very narrowly escaped injury. We had news of them today that they were in line of battle wh' keeps us always uneasy. I'm glad to know that you and Ella are such good friends. . . . Liza is sitting by me stewing molasses and Harriet parching corn to put in it. Wont you have some? Bless me, I must stop. . . . Tell Ella Julia's beau from Goochland has just arrived.

Love to all inquiring friends and for Mercy's sake tear this up right now.

Affly

Yr friend

Jennie

Lewis and John Peyton have just come. You all must not allow yourselves to get low-spirited. Xmas is near.

(Evidently Albemarle Institute had the same rule as Fluvanna Institute, where "The young ladies connected with the Institute are not allowed to receive the attentions of young gentlemen nor to carry on clandestine correspondence under any pretense whatever.")

Nealie was Ella's brother Cornelius Pollard Snead, who lived near the home of their father. Mr. Henry Winn was doubtless his brother-in-law.

Edwin and Julia are unidentified.

Lewis and John Peyton are two of the double first cousins, the former a son of William Pumphrey Snead, the latter a son of Benjamin and brother of Gideon. Lewis and Gideon were considered the handsomest of the Snead cousins. Neither married.

On December 2, 1863, "Bro. George S. Thomas on behalf of the ladies of the neighborhood asked permission of the Church to hold a vocal and instrumental concert in this house on the 29th Inst., the proceeds of which they propose to devote to army colportage." Permission for the concert was granted and it is for this performance that Jennie is urging Ella to prepare "a piece."

Harriet and Liza were servants.)

LETTER SEVEN

Fork Union, July 27th '64

Dearest One (*except three or four boys*),

. . . As I am making ready to attend an Association tomorrow in Buckingham I cannot indulge in a long chit-chat now. Nash and Phil have just gotten home a few hours ago from Rockbridge Alum Springs, whither they have been for several weeks to recruit their health and I am happy to say my dear Brother is looking much improved and feels better. They went thro' the country, had a merry time returning—stopping to see the girls. They met with Ella Shepherd at her Uncle's, Wm Ligon who is very sick with Typhoid fever—not likely to recover. She says you must direct to Nelson station—that she has never gotten your letter. Poor child, she is indeed heavily afflicted. . . .

We rec'd a letter from Charles—dear boy—Saturday. He has had another narrow escape for his life—the balls penetrating [letter torn] his underclothing, leaving him untouched. I suppose Junius was not engaged. Once before Charles had the seat of his saddle torn to pieces by a ball just after he dismounted. I will enclose his letter to us—perhaps you can read it. We should indeed be truly thankful for the preservation of the dear boys. But we are hardly relieved of one pang before another takes its place—a rumor—reliable—has just

reached us of two different battles fought by Early—again is anxiety on tiptoe to hear the fate of the beloved ones, when we hope and believe our shelter is under the wings of an All-wise Protector.

I suppose C. had not gotten our letter when he wrote. I was glad to see from the papers that the much dreaded fate had not befallen our Capt. and that he was safe at Point Lookout. Ah, Sallie you little rascal, you believed and intimated in your last that I had surrendered myself to a certain brave Captain of the Confederate service. But how you are in the wrong "my vows have not been plighted—amen" (?) I try to keep the citadel of my heart strongly guarded tho' the sentinels sometimes fall a-napping and an entrance is effected while I confess an unaccountable attachment or attraction. . . . Sallie, your last was read with pleasure—not only because it was from *my little pet* and because it was replete with words breathing pure and confiding friendship such as two true and loving hearts should always yield to the other—but there was an additional charm—the sweet perfume—that exhaled from the tiny bouquet so tastefully arranged it excited pleasant sensations—which in turn awakened pleasing emotions and grateful thoughts of the gallant form who bended over his crutch to pluck the smiling blossoms for the friend of his dear little Cousin. Mercy me, I am almost ready to grow eloquent, just as my time and paper are out. However assure Cousin Milton that his flowers are highly appreciated—as a proof of wh' I keep them in a book of daily reading—and tell him—well anything else you choose that is sweet and kind. Ah, Sallie, how I wish you would come to our Association in August. Excuse my paper. Pa is away with the key to the secretaire. Write a long letter and give much love to all at your home. Ma joins me in love to you.

Affly yours,
Fondly,
Jennie

(Nash, Jennie's brother, returned home at the end of the war so ill "from exposure" in the war that he died early in '66.

Charles, Jennie's youngest and favorite brother, is now engaged to Sallie and we read no more of the handsome Gideon.

Junius, the fifth brother of Jennie to serve in the Confederate Army, became a prisoner and was not released until the

end of the war. Of her seven brothers five were living at the time of the Snead reunion in 1909.

The "Capt." who was a prisoner at Point Lookout is unidentified.

The "certain brave Captain" to whom Sallie accuses Jennie of having surrendered her heart is the Captain of Artillery referred to in the second letter, the donor of the rose bushes. The sentinels of Jennie's heart seem indeed to have fallen a-napping, since she had been endeavoring for several months to withdraw from a semi-engagement, as portions of the next letter show. Although the letter is from the Captain, is out of place chronologically and has no direct connection with Fork Union, it explains references in the preceding and following letters of hers, and is part of a fine letter from a brave officer. The susceptible and light-hearted Jennie lost no time in getting married when she was really in love.)

THE CAPTAIN'S LETTER

Petersburg

May 18, 1864

. . . It would seem, Jennie, that you are experiencing the truth of that descriptive adage that "the way of the transgressor is Hard." Could you have a more significant proof that your late proceeding was wrong than this, that when another suitor comes you do not find yourself prepared with an answer to a question which involved the withdrawal of pretensions to your hand? And, furthermore, by your silence and failure to answer, haven't you given the last comer encouragement? Is not the very failure to answer an invitation to continue solicitation? You must refuse a man whom you would accept or accept him while sustaining a *quasi* relation of betrothal to another. . . . Now hear a word of perfect frankness. I am afraid, Jennie, that you have departed somewhat from the frank, sincere honesty which I used so much to admire in you. The recent proceedings savour very strongly of coquetry, my dear girl. Very strongly. There can be no reason why a woman cannot meet the fresh demonstration of affection with a decided and unmistakeable indication of refusal which will check further progress and this is what a true-hearted woman ought to do. . . . Change all this, Jennie, it is altogether unworthy of you and return to that original

frankness and simplicity of character which is after all the highest charm of woman.

I am writing this and shall commit it to the Post Office, with no sort of idea as to when it will reach you. Petersburg is pretty thoroughly beleagured by the enemy and if reports and rumours of the day be true, all mail communication with the outside world is cut off. . . That being true, this may lie here for days or even weeks before it will meet your eyes. Meantime I shall probably meet the enemy and participate in more than one fight and God only knows what will be the issue to me personally. Nor do I feel greatly concerned. I am conscious that I am in the line of duty, standing where I ought, and doing my best to serve the cause which is dearest to my heart. If in that place I must fall, well—albeit I would like to survive the end of this war and see the government established upon the principles which inaugurated this strife.

. . . There is scarcely a doubt now, I think, that we will successfully defend Petersburg and Richmond from the attacks made upon them by the column on the South Side and if God gives Gen'l Lee the success which has heretofore attended his arms, the spring campaign will be glorious indeed for the South.

Now I must conclude . . . Good bye and God bless you.

N.A.S.

(The Captain did not know of the mighty army advancing from the north under Grant.

A few days after this letter was written the Captain became a Major.)

LETTER EIGHT

Fork Union
August (64)

Darling Sallie,

I think that I deserve a premium for being so punctual to you and yet you murmur. I fear you are a naughty girl. What would my jewlarky say if he knew that I wrote to you weekly and to him only semi-monthly but alas! I have no hi-pertickler now to whom I care to write regularly. As I told you before I am just now disentangling myself from a net in wh' I entrapped another. [See the preceding letter.] All love affairs that have not marriage in view as the thing most desired by both parties always—yes—I believe it, always eventuate in

trouble to one or both. So profit by my experience—I am done trifling. But I have a big secret that I would pour into the ear of my little pet were she near but I dare not entrust it to the custody of this seal. It is a dangerous secret, I shudder almost to think of it—While it continually haunts me, it yields pleasure—the thought, I mean, while I would fain drive it from me. It is pleasant—yet harrowing because it can never be realized unless my stern nature succumbs. Dont guess Sallie, you will do me injustice. I am not at all culpable—unless it be from nurturing it. I fear I've already hinted too much, it is a mystery to you, I know you will say. It cannot be otherwise until we meet—then you shall know all—when I hope to be free from its clutches. You are the only one who shall ever know it all—but I must stop this enigmatical talk.

We had a letter from Charlie yesterday—was anxious to hear from you. Wished oh so much that this cruel war was over so that he could return to his own quiet happy home to revel in the sweets of domestic life and happiness with the chosen one of his heart. He says “Ladies are very changeable but I have no reason to doubt my little pet—will not and cannot.” Are you worthy of so good a reputation? I believe it and will till the contrary is proven. Ah Sallie have you heard the sad crushing news of dear Ella Shepherd’s death? She died of typhoid fever Wednesday week. She sacrificed her life to save her Uncle . . . Does it not seem that we are in the midst of death in life? We have had more deaths than usual in this vicinity from battle fever. The soldier upon whom we’ve been attending for so long died last week—His wife is a widow away from home with two babes. Two of his brothers are here—nice fellows too. Well, the Association has come and gone. I’m sorry it is over. Mr. Hart, Fife and Thompson staid here, Hiden, Johnson and Dr. Broaddus, Chelf and Alexander were here. . . . How I wish you could have heard us singing some anthems. We made the church ring. . . . I formed many nice acquaintances among the no. Mr. Hatcher of Manchester (a brother of an old teacher of mine) with whom I lost my heart. Lt. Bagby who staid here several days and who knows Charlie intimately and a Lt. Jennings from Tennessee now staying in Buckingham. I enjoyed myself much more than I expected. Had an old schoolmate and dear friend to stay several days with me, Belle Henley of Nelson. Mr. Hart seemed to enjoy himself very much didn’t want to go back—write

immediately. Tell Cousin Milton "he just ought to be here now to eat sorghum candy."

Love to all from all

Affly

Jennie

("Jewlarky" and "hi-pertickler" are Victorian equivalents of the present day horrid expression "boy-friend.")

Mr. Hatcher, of Bedford, was the Rev. William Eldridge Hatcher, Jennie's future husband. A recent graduate of Richmond College, at that time he was pastor of a struggling church in Manchester. His brother Harvey, Jennie's old teacher, had taught briefly at the Fluvanna Institute before entering the ministry.

Lt. Bagby, later Captain, was Alexander Bagby of King and Queen.

There is a little confusion about when Jennie met Mr. Hatcher, as in another place she said that she had met him at an earlier Association in Buckingham and that they were introduced at that time by Mr. Pumphrey Seay, a college friend of his.)

LETTER NINE

Fork Union
Sept. 30—64

Dear Sallie,

. . . We are suffering all the horrors of suspense that you are—consequently cannot comfort you much. Yet I cannot help writing all that I know to her who possesses the heart of my darling brother. We heard several days ago that two members of his Co. were killed—Moton Griffin and another one—afterwards that Capt. Massie was certainly killed and Charlie had a ball thro' his coat sleeve—Another rumor was that they had lost all of their cannons and a few remaining from capture and death were fighting with muskets. This is the sum and substance of all that I know. He wrote to us after the first day's fight in which he lost so many and we expected to hear today but not a single letter was received from the company—which inclines us to the belief that they were all captured. Bro. Marcellus and Cousin John Snead will start to Ch'ville and from thence to where they are this evening—we hope that all may be well with them. I try to trust that God will answer our prayer and save them.

We have just heard the sad news of the death of a soldier friend from this neighborhood, who has been for 18 long months at Point Lookout—Pat Thomas—also of poor Willie Abell—killed in the Valley. I reckon it will be a crushing blow to his family. It is well that we cannot see the future. We have been looking for Junius home on furlo'—afraid he can't come now. Ella and I have been attending a meeting at Paulette's Chapel. Pa has bought me the prettiest little riding horse you ever saw—rather too low for me—reckon I will have to keep him till you come up as he will comport better with your figure. I wrote to you a few days ago—will write again as soon as we hear from the boys. I directed your letter to Richmond. I'll tell you a secret in my next.

With much love from Ma—who already loves Sallie very much and speaks of her often.

I must close—

Write often to yr. aff Jennie

(Captain Massie was killed and Jennie's brother Charles, Sallie's fiancé, was promoted on the field from the rank of lieutenant to that of captain. Jennie does not yet know this. For the rest of his long life Charles was always called "Captain Snead.")

Paulette's Chapel was probably beyond Cohasset on land owned by the Paulette family.

In spite of the war, church and association meetings were held as regularly as always. Shortly after the meeting of the Albemarle Association in Fork Union Mr. Hatcher was invited back to hold a meeting at the Fork Church, and during that period he and Jennie became engaged and were married the 22nd of the following December. On his trip to Fork Union the groom was accompanied on the packet boat from Richmond by five ministers: his brother Harvey, his first cousin Jeremiah Bell Jeter, Charles H. Ryland, A. B. Woodfin and John R. Bagby. The Rev. George W. Hyde, who expected to join the party at Dover, wrote that he was ill on the night he was to meet the boat. He heard the horn of the man who drove the canal boat's horses as he blew and blew and blew for a long time, but he could not join the happy party of his "dear friends that night on their way to Fluvanna."

The ceremony was performed by Dr. Jeter and the Rev. William A. Whitescarver, pastor of Fork Church.

Since the war precluded any thought of a wedding trip, the bridal couple spent several days visiting different relatives of Jennie's at their homes in Fluvanna and then left for Manchester and the grim times awaiting them there as the war drew to a close.)

LETTER TEN

Manchester, Jan. 17th—[1865]

Darling Sallie,

I'm "mad" with you again. My ire against you has been so frequently excited I fear you will think I've lost my temper and equanimity in these later days. But listen—mind if I don't crimson you a little before I'm thro'—How have you treated my poor soldier brother? Immediately after he left you he wrote me that he would be married on the 17th if he could get his furlo'—also wrote to Mr. Hatcher to marry him—or be present and assist. Accordingly we went to work, made all arrangements to go up and secured the attendance of two extra nice beaux, Mr. Ryland and Lt. Bagby. I told everybody I was going to Flu Friday, expecting to go up with the bridal party. On Monday I rec'd a letter from Charlie stating that he had heard nothing from you—that he was *very anxious*, etc.—and that he couldn't get his furlo' before the 24th. This was some disappointment, but mercy when yr. letter came yesterday stating that you could not be ready before the middle of March I threw up my hands in holy surprise and sorrow. I can but think that you intended a hoax upon me—to tease me—a letter from home yesterday stated that they were fixing for yr reception. If you are in earnest about putting it off Mr. Hatcher nor I cannot go as he will commence a meeting here the middle of Feb. and he wants me to go home and return before then. He is very anxious to go to yr house to be present on the occasion—as well as myself—so if you want us to be with you at all—you had better stop that nonsense. Besides, Charlie I suppose will get his furlo' next week and oh my! wont he be woefully disappointed. We do not want to interfere at all with yr arrangements. At the same time we hope twill not be delayed for selfish as well as other reasons. By March the summer campaign will have commenced and you will necessarily be separated—while you might board near him during the winter.

My wardrobe is at yr command—but I suspect you will not much desire it if you were to see it. I think low neck would

be more becoming. My muslin is trimmed with narrow satin ribbon. If you want it send for it—be sure to have a little skirt behind made to your dress if you make it. I have one you can get. My wreath and veil were borrowed. If you come to R'd let me know and I'll meet you. Or if you prefer it, send me the orders to fill. My husband is very tasty. We have yr wedding ring—it is beautiful and the motto appropriate. If Charlie comes must we come up the 24th—34th or 44th. Oh, you vixen. If you are not married next week I'll not wait for you but go to Flu anyhow—Write to me immediately. Let me know all. Mr. H. sends much love to Sallie.

Affly,
Jennie

(In spite of Jennie's urging and her "holy surprise and sorrow" Sallie and Charles were not married until the last day of February, 1865.)

* * *

In 1870 "the pure and gentle" Sallie died, leaving two little girls who grew up in Fork Union under the care of Charles and, later, his second wife, the lovely Betty Payne. After Sallie's daughters were married they returned to Fork Union every summer to visit Captain Snead and his wife at Rose Hill—whose name, alas, was changed to one less euphonious. But to the Fork Union which once knew the mellow sound of the church bell summoning worshippers to service and the melodious horn of the post boy, the twentieth century has brought the noise of modern traffic. At times, however, one may hear the clear call of a bugle or the notes of a martial band coming from the hillside where stands the Fork Union Military Academy, founded by Jennie's husband.

VIRGINIA D. COX

This article was requested by the late editor,
Mrs. Clara Cocke Forsyth.

APRIL BUS TO RICHMOND

Three counties, white and green
With dogwood and with pine,
Divide us from the town.

Our bus, exhaling fumes,
Breathes in pure April, hums
Beside the bloated James.

Ladies make Easter talk
Around me. Point of Fork
Is passed. This land's a book

Left out and rained upon
And crinkled so you can
Not read it well, but in

A paragraph we shall
Ascend the pampered hill
At State Farm. And you hail

From where? New Canton? Here
The hungry suburbs are
Devouring fields and more.

Through counties flecked with light
(Traffic-green, supper-white)
We shall hum home tonight.

JOHN NIXON, JR., Editor "The Lyric"
Bremo Bluff, Va.

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BANISHED MELODY

The old piano, once the walnut queen
Of an adoring parlor, now must hold
Her sorry court down in the barn—between
Two rival sovereigns, Decay and Mould.

On silent nights her exiled majesty
Wraps a thin shawl of spider's web around
Her shoulders and remembers poignantly
The pompous years she filled with regal sound.

And dreaming thus, perhaps she hears again
The once familiar rhythms of Bizet
Or savors some mazurka by Chopin
Secretly there among the corn and hay.

JOHN NIXON, JR.
from *The* (Washington) *Evening Star*
March 23, 1949

The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$1.50; a life membership costs \$25.00. A bulletin will be published twice a year, to be distributed for fifty cents a copy. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The Society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: The Editor, Bulletin of the Historical Society, Palmyra, Virginia.

The Bulletin of the
FLUVANNA COUNTY
Historical Society

NUMBER 9

OCTOBER 1969



COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

Built in 1830

Digitized by Google

91-3

Table of Contents

- I Introduction**
- II Creation of Fluvanna—Petition of 1777**
- III Thomas Jefferson Map—1777**
- IV Heads of Families—1782**
- V Moving the County Seat—1828**
- VI Gazetteer of Fluvanna—1835**
- VII Businesss Directory of Fluvanna—1868**
- VIII Business Directory of Fluvanna—1877-78**
- IX Virginia Gazetteer—1890-91**
- X Fluvanna County Historical Society Report—1969**
- XI Fluvanna County Historical Society Officers**
- XII Fluvanna County Historical Society Membership**

Fall Bulletin 1969

Our fall bulletin is an offering to those members with a statistical turn of mind and an answer to requests for a published list of the members of the Fluvanna County Historical Society.

We have in the past published manuscripts covering original research, and there are many facets of Fluvanna history about which we hope to publish in narrative form in the future. However, for this issue, we decided to give some of the recorded statistics of Fluvanna.

The questions have often arisen: Why did Fluvanna citizens wish to be a separate county—cut themselves off from Albemarle? Why in 1777, in the midst of the Revolution, did men concern themselves with a matter such as this? The petition sent to the General Assembly requesting this separation is published here.

The next record of Fluvanna which we include is a summary of the census of 1790, followed by statistical information about Fluvanna published in directories of 1835, 1868, 1877 and 1890.

Copying the list of active members of the Society for publication has not been an easy task. Those individuals whose names have been omitted and who are interested in membership should contact the Treasurer of the Society.

**PETITION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR
SEPARATION OF FLUVANNA COUNTY
FROM ALBEMARLE COUNTY**

"Sundry inhabitants and freeholders situate in the South part of Albemarle County, suffer many and great hardships and inconveniency from the vast extent of said county, in traveling to the courthouse. The greatest part, by far, of your petitioners have (to go) from twenty to thirty-five miles to the same. Roads are extremely bad and cannot be made much better, as the lands are craggy and mountainous. Two rivers and many creeks that are rapid add to the inconveniency. The courthouse of the said County has been set many miles from the center and to the north—partly to make (its) situation more agreeable—as the part supposed to be about the center is mountainous. Yet your petitioners are occasionally (forced) to get through these mountains in emergencies.

"The inconveniences are so great that many become sufferers, not having it in their power to attend to their business without riding (a full) day before, as well as a day afterwards. Your petitioners therefore pray that the county may be divided into two distinct counties, by running a direct line from the Southwest point of the Louisa line—the waters of Mechunk Creek—to the Fluvanna River, at the lower side of Scott's Ferry landing, by which division your petitioners conceive the greatest conveniency to themselves, and no individuals to be prejudiced. The courthouse and town of Charlottesville will answer the same purpose as at present and be near central to the North part of said county. Your petitioners shall ever pray, etc."

Fluvanna became a County, June 3, 1777. It is interesting to note, however, that the exact line of division between Albemarle and Fluvanna Counties was in dispute for nearly one hundred years and was not finally decided upon until a survey was made during the middle 1870's.

By coincidence, William Ronald Cocke II, son of Judge William Ronald Cocke, was a member of the surveying commission. Judge Cocke had removed from Powhatan County in 1853 and settled at Greenwood, the present home of the Cockes. The young surveyor was in his early twenties at the time.

The list of petitioners for Fluvanna County, retaining original spellings, is appended alphabetically:

Benja. Anderson, George Anderson, Geo. Anderson, Jr., Nathaniel Anderson, Absolom Applebery, William Applebery.

David Bailey, Thomas Bailey, Joseph Barad, John Barnard, John Barnett, William Barnett, Will Basket, Sp — Bashaw, Fisher R. Bennatt, Richard Bennatt, Benj. Bradshaw, Reuben Brown, Wm. Bugg, John Burgess, Will Burgess, J. Burton.

Wilson Miles Cary, John Clark, William Clark, Thos. Clements, Thomas Clemens, James Cole

Thomas Devard, Thomas Doherty (?), George Duncan

James Eads

Tho. Farrar, Thomas Farrar, Jr., Benja. Fitzpatrick, Donald Fraser, Rd. Furbush, Wm. Furbush

James Glass, Will Glass, Js. Glass

John M. Haden, William Haden, John Hancock, Richard Haris, W. Henry, Henry Hughes, Rees Hughes

John Kent, Thomas Kent, Aron Kidd, Benjamin Kidd, John Kidd, Lewis Kidd, Moses Kidd, Sam. Kidd

Jos. Lambert, Benj. Lee, Edward Lee, Joseph Lea, Stephen Lea, Daniel Lightfoot, William Lilly, Thomas Linthieum, Landry Linsey, Aron Lowry, Moses Lowry

John Mann, Henry C. Martin, John Martin, William Martin and Wm. Martin, Joseph Mayo, Richard Mayo, Robert Mayo, Joseph Minter, Edmond Moody, John Moody, Jesse Moore, John Moore, Alexander Moss

John New, Ashford Napier, John Napier, Richard Napier, Robert Napier, Thomas Napier

William Oglesby, Richard Omohundro, David Owl

Jesse Parish, Robt. Paslay, Wm. Payne, Robt. B. Payne, Wm. Pearces, Elias Putney

Tunstall Quarles

Charles Richards, Green Richardson, Turner Richardson, Toms. Roberson

Julias Sanders, John Seay, Archibill Snead, Vinson Sprouse, Elijah Stone, Hezekiah Stone, Marbil Stone, David Staples, John Staples

Benj. Thacker, Geo. Thompson, Lee Thompson, John Thompson, Roger Thompson, Thomas Thurmond, Daniel Tilman

David Wade, Elias Williams, William Williams, Jur. Jacob

**Williamson, John Williamson, Patr. Williamson, Willis Willis,
Benj. Woodson, Patr. Woodson, Rene Woodson, Wm. Woody,
Joseph Wooling, Robert Wright.**

Census 1790
Heads of Families—Virginia 1782
Fluvanna County

The first census of the United States in 1790 was an enumeration of the inhabitants of Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont and Virginia. The returns of Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, New Jersey, Tennessee and Virginia were destroyed when the British burned the capital during the war of 1812.

The loss of Virginia's original schedules for the first and the second census is so unfortunate that every endeavor has been made to secure data that would in some measure fill the vacancy. The only records that could be secured were some manuscript lists of state enumeration in the years 1782, 1783, 1784 and 1785.

These schedules of 1790 form a unique inheritance for the nation since they represent for each of the states concerned a list of the heads of the families in the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. The framers were the statesmen and leaders of thought; but those whose names appear upon the schedules of the first census were in general the plain citizens who by their conduct in war and peace made the Constitution possible, and by their intelligence and self-restraint put it into successful operation.

From Heads of Families. First census of the United States 1790.

State enumerations of Virginia 1782-1795.

Total—Heads of families	332
White	1,980
Black	1,319

FLUVANNA COUNTY

HEADS OF FAMILIES 1782

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black	NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black
Richardson, Capt.	4	6	Clark, William	7	
Furburk, Robert	5	4	Allford, Ancil	6	2
Richardson, William	5		Perkins, Michael	6	
Kidd, John	7		Humphrey, Merry	3	
Allen, Richard	3	3	Askew, Charles	5	
Perkins, Stephen	2	3	Davis, James	11	
Rice, Tandy	10	3	Sparks, Edward	5	
Lilley, Armiger	10	10	Bentley, Danl. Junr.	4	
Pace, Murry	4		Bentley, James	4	
Adams, Richard	7	41	Haden, John		
Clarkson, David	10	9	Haden, Benjamin		
Martin, Elizabeth	7	8	Strange, John A.	6	11
Haden, Jos.	8	8	Moore, John	5	
Ross, Peter	8	4	Askew, Anthony	8	
Humphrey, David	8		Pace, John	5	
Linthecum, Thomas	4	6	Bellomy, John	5	
Jenkins, James	6		Bellomy, Benjamin	7	
Cole, William	5	5	Tuggle, Joshua	3	
Quarles, Tunstal	7	8	Thacker, Benjamin	10	
Bentley, Danl.	9		Thacker, Ambrose	6	
Kent, Robert	8	3	Thacker, William	4	
Richardson, Saml.	5	4	Bethel, Valentine	7	
Eadson, Ann	5	1	Crewson, James	6	7
White, William	7		Southerland, Sanders	7	
White, John	5		Timberlake, John	6	3
Stodgill, Ambrose	9		Moore, William	3	4
May, Ambrose	6	1	Barnet, John	5	2
Shepherd, John	11	9	Cary, Wilson M.	22	200
Holland, Hezekiah	9	3	Barnet, William	5	
Humphrey, Elijah	4		Foster, James	7	
Humphrey, Edward	5		Foster, John	2	
Loveing, William	10		Johnson, William	5	4
Taylor, Henry	5		Thacker, Nath.	4	
Clarke, Charles	7		Paine, William, Esq.	11	18
Frances, Reuben	8		Thompson, Roger	9	26
Clubb, William	9		Davis, John	6	
Baine, Edwin	6		Adams, James	9	13
Johnson, Walter	6	4	Adams, Robert	4	5
Basket, William	14		Adams, William	4	2

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black	NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black
Barnard, Peter	9	1	Thompson, Leonard	5	11
Stephens, James	3	1	Lisle, Sophia	6	
King, Danl.	8		Kidd, Moses	7	
Paine, Danl.	7		Lowry, Aaron	10	
Bibee, John	5		Lowry, Moses	4	
Glasby, John	7		Clark, Jonathan	6	
Smithson, Drummond	6	1	Clark, John	3	
Howard, William	8	1	Overstreet, William	4	
Haggard, George	5		Rice, Charles	6	1
Haggard, James	4		Wills, Willis, (dec'd.)	1	10
Denton, William	3	1	Kidd, Benjamin	2	
Allen, Mary	1	3	Seay, Austin	3	1
Kent, John	5	4	Kidd, Saml.	3	1
Martin, John	13	2	Chandler, Elizabeth	8	1
Lilley, William	10	1	Ross, David	13	52
Baber, John	6		Cox, George	8	1
Baber, Thos.	6		King, Jackville	7	5
Baber, Elizabeth	3		Wade, David	10	
Weldy, William	3		Cawthorn, Robt.	—	
Bailey, Thomas	6	7	Anderson, George, Senr.	4	4
Bailey, Elizabeth	6		Anderson, George, Junr.	8	2
Bryant, Sylvanus	11		Anderson, Nathl.	1	1
Bryant, Susanna	2		Martin, John, Senr.	8	
Bryant, William	3		Martin, William	4	
Carter, William	7		Rice, John	4	1
Wood, Thomas	8		Anderson, Benjamin	8	3
Sanders, George	7	1	Sanders, Julius, Senr.	6	2
Wood, Martha	5		Hughes, Jesse	2	
Martin, William	7	8	Kirby, Francis	4	
Brag, John	10	1	Hughes, Rees	6	4
Appleberry, William	10	9	King, Jos.	5	
Ashley, William	8	2	Bibee, David	11	
Moss, Alexander	13	5	Thacker, Benjamin, Jr.	4	
Thurmond, Benjamin	7	8	Pace, William	6	
Bruce, Benjamin	3	1	Priddy, William	7	1
Bentley, Danl.	8		Priddy, Robert	4	
Bentley, Danl., Junr.	3		Alligree, Danl.	7	7
Lindsey, Landy	7	4	Harlow, William	9	
Cole, James	5	3	Abbney, Paul	2	
Wells, Elias	8	17	Bell, John	10	
Napier, Thomas	8	24	Harlow, John, Junr.	4	
Hensley, Witham	8		Gadberry, John	2	2
Thompson, George	8	17	Denton, Thomas	9	
Thompson, John	5	12	Parish, Jollah	6	

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black	NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black
Roundtree, Thos.	9		Stone, Hezekiah	7	8
Shermond, Rebeckah	6	5	Stone, Francis T.	1	3
Baber, Abadiah	2		Napier, John	7	5
Norton, Christopher	6		Williamson, John	6	7
Gilbert, Nathl.	7		Williamson, Jacob	2	4
Forsith, John	2		Williamson, Patrick	4	2
Priddy, Elizabeth	3		Napier, Patrick	5	8
Priddy, William	—		Frazier, Donald	3	7
Ray, William	1		Woodson, Rene	4	4
Appleberry, Thomas	10	4	Melton, John	10	
Webb, James	6	1	Bennit, F. R.	7	1
Seay, John	6	2	Bashaw, Mary	6	
Weaver, Benjamin	10	5	Mayo, Jos.	10	9
Grant, Alexander	4		Sneed, Holmon	8	10
Parish, Abraham	8	18	Mayo, Thomas	4	1
Stanley, Solomon	4	3	Jiles, William	8	
Johnson, John	4	2	Woodson, Benjamin	6	10
Laine, Jacob	6		Wright, Robert	7	2
Stanley, Jonathan	3		Fitzpatrick, Joseph	1	2
Toney, Alexander	4		Fitzpatrick, William	1	1
Richardson, Green	10		Fitzpatrick, Mary	3	5
Tindale, Thomas	1	8	Fitzpatrick, Benjamin	6	3
Tilman, Thomas	8	9	Handcock, John	10	
Morris, John	6	1	Haislep, Henry	9	
Haislep, Robert	6		Haislep, Spencer	5	
Moore, Warren	6		Allen, Robert	5	8
Stone, Marbel	7	2	Mayo, Joseph	8	9
Napier, Champion	5	3	May, Thos.	4	1
Scott, William	2	3	Champion, Cutt	5	4
Kneaves, William	1	9	Parish, Jesse	10	
Murry, Richard	9	6	Mawyer, John	6	
Perry, George	3	7	Rodes, George	3	
Ladd, Jehoshaphat	4		Rodes, George, Junr.	4	
Ladd, John	2	1	Rodes, Henry	5	
Perkins, Richard	8	5	Napier, Richard	9	22
Pettice, Jno.	4	3	Napier, Rene	1	3
Johnson, Dilmus	7		Herndon, Reuben	9	2
Henry, William	3	19	Herndon, Jos.	9	1
Appleberry, Absalom	6		Hall, Richard	9	5
Hammonds, Ephraim	3		Dawson, Thomas	4	11
Brookes, Benjamin	4		Duncan, John	6	1
Hammonds, Thomas	2		Handcock, Lewis	6	3
Hughes, Johns	4		Duncan, George	8	14
Williams, William	11		Oglesby, William	7	11
Manley, John	6	1	Stone, Elijah	9	8

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black	NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY	White	Black
Wilson, Jonathan	6		Sandridge, John	5	1
Woolce, Christopher	9		Farror, Mary	3	4
Burgess, John	9	1	Moody, John	11	
Burgess, William	8	1	Farrer, Thomas	2	2
Moore, John	3	1	Sanders, Julias	3	1
Tilman, Thomas	8	1	Eads, James	5	
Haislep, Jane	1	1	Barnard, John	12	
Price, Abraham	8		Richardson, Turner	7	13
Pucket, Robert	7		Harden, John M.	8	4
Sprouce, John	9		Jones, David	9	4
Key, Tandy	5	20	Paisley, Robt.	6	2
Cocke, Jno. Hartwel (The Estate)		45	Ford, Tandy	10	
Cocke, Allen, Dec'd (Estate)		42	Linthicum, Thos.	6	1
Ware, John	10	41	Logan, Anthony	10	
Henley, William	12	10	Evans, Thos.	4	1
Wooling, Joseph	2	17	Haden, William	6	5
Winn, Thomas	3	4	Thomas, John	8	
Bugg, William	7	2	Ford, Bartlet	5	
Kirby, William	6	1	Hayes, Ann	3	
Omohundro, Richard	9	1	Robinson, Sarah	4	
Kidd, Samuel	2	1	Martin, Henry	5	4
Kidd, Benjamin	3		Haden, Anthony	11	19
Tilman, Danl.	5	3	Busley, James	4	
Seay, Stephen	10		Rogers, John	8	
Mullis, Willoughby	8		Webber, Phillip	4	5
Sadler, William	10		Sadler, John	8	
Kirby, Francis	4		Richardson, Robert	2	9
Cawthorn, Thomas	4		Richardson, Jno.	2	
Creasy, William	7		Lee, Benjamin	4	4
Butler, George	7		Lilley, Thomas	8	2
Hunt, John	8		Robinson, John	7	4
Perry, John	4		Stone, Caleb	5	8
Woody, Austin	8		Bryant, Elizabeth	8	2
England, John	8		Ashlin, John	7	13
Hughes, Anthony	5	4	Venable, Wm., Dec'd. (Estate)	4	5
Shores, Thomas, Senr.	6		Grant, Alexander, Junr.	6	
Lightfoot, Danl.	6	9	Hughes, William	6	5
			Clark, Jacob	8	

Excerpts from

"An Act Concerning the Place for Holding Courts in the County of Fluvanna, and for Other Purposes." (Passed February 18, 1828)

Whereas, it is represented to the General Assembly, that the public buildings in the County of Fluvanna are out of repair, and that the present place for holding courts in the said county is thought by many to be inconveniently situated, and it is desirable to ascertain and accommodate the wishes of the people of the said county as to the place most eligible for its permanent seat of justice before any further expense is incurred in the erection or repairs of public buildings.

1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That the Sheriff of the County of Fluvanna or his deputy, superintended by John Winn, George W. Richardson, Gideon A. Strange, Overton B. Pettit, Commissioners or any three of them on the twenty fourth day of March next at the Courthouse of the said county shall proceed to have a poll opened for the purpose of ascertaining the number of voters for each respective place proposed as the most fit for the permanent seat of justice all freeholders and housekeepers in the said county and no others shall have the right to vote The justices of the said county shall on the first day of their May court—examine the said poll book and if any one place shall have a majority of the whole number of votes given, the court shall by entry of the record declare that place to be the future seat of justice for the said county but if neither of the places voted for shall have a majority the place having the smallest number of votes shall no longer be considered in the contest—and the remainder again voted for until one place shall have a majority of the whole number of votes given.

(Note: In October 1777, Wilson Miles Cary of Carysbrook, offered a site for the courthouse on his plantation. In 1778 land was selected for the courthouse on the south side of the Rivanna on the lands of Col. Thomas Napier and Capt. Patrick Napier. In 1828 the citizens voted that the new courthouse building be located at Palmyra instead of Wilmington or the old site.)

A New and Comprehensive
GAZETTEER OF VIRGINIA and the DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA

By Joseph Martin

1835

FLUVANNA.

Fluvanna was created by the Legislature in 1777, from a part of Albemarle County.—It is bounded N. by Louisa, W. by Albemarle, S. by James River, which separates it from Buckingham, and E. partly by Goochland, and partly by a bend of James River, separating it from Cumberland. It is in shape a parallelogram, approaching to a square, its border in common with Albemarle is 26 miles, its mean breadth 16,—area 416 sq. miles. It extends in lat. from 37° 40' to 37° 58' N. and in long. from 1° 12' to 1° 43' W. of W. C. The Rivanna river enters it from Albemarle, and flowing S.E. divides the county diagonally, leaving nearly half on the north side, and empties into James River at Columbia. The surface is for the most part broken, but between the Rivanna and James there is a large tract of barren, level land which runs for some distance into Albemarle. The soil on the rivers is good—that on the James equal perhaps to any of the celebrated low grounds on that river. The lower part of the county,—included in a line drawn from the mouth of little Bremono creek to the N.E. angle of the county—has a dark greyish soil resembling disintegrated granite which produces the best chewing tobacco in the state. An eminent tobacco manufacturer of Richmond has offered the inhabitants of this district to take all of their tobacco, (lugs included,) at \$10 a hundred, and pay all costs and charges for its delivery in Richmond.

The vein of gold which runs through Louisa, Goochland and Fluvanna into Buckingham, is worked near Palmyra, the county seat of Fluvanna. Population 1820, 6,704—in 1830, 8,221.—This county belongs to the 11th judicial circuit and 6th district. Taxes paid in 1832-3, \$2092.18—in 1833-4, on lots, \$37.31—land, \$1316.83—2093 slaves, \$523.25—1626 horses, \$97.56—7 studs, \$84.00—10 coaches, \$26.25—20 carryalls, \$24.05—30 gigs, \$23.35. Total \$2132.60. Expended in educating poor children in 1832, \$166.83—in 1833-\$359.73.

TOWNS, VILLAGES, POST OFFICES, &c.

COLUMBIA, P. V. 52 ms. N.W. by W. of R. and 122 from W.—situated on the left bank of the Rivanna, at its junction with the James.—It contains 20 dwelling houses, 4 mercantile stores, 2 taverns, 1 house of public worship, free for all denominations, 1 common school, 2 tailors, 3 boot and shoe factories, 2 cabinet makers, 1 wheelwright, 1 house carpenter, and 1 smith's shop. Population 85 whites, one of whom is a physician, 54 free colored persons, and 38 slaves. Total, 177.

LAUREL SPRING, P. O. 61 ms. N.W. by W. of R. and from W.

LINDSEY'S CROSS ROADS, P. O. 80 ms. W. of R. and 125 from W.

PALMYRA, P. V. and seat of justice, 59 ms. N.W. by W. of R. and 136 S.W. of W., in lat. $37^{\circ} 47'$ N. and long. $1^{\circ} 29'$ W. of W.C.—situated on the Rivanna River 14 ms. from its junction with the James. Besides the county buildings which are of brick, and have been recently erected, it contains 14 dwelling houses, 1 methodist house of worship, 1 mercantile store, 1 tavern, 1 merchant, grist and saw mill, 1 woollen factory, 2 saddlers, 2 tailors, 1 boot and shoe factory, 1 tanyard, 1 cabinet maker, and several carpenters and coopers. A handsome and permanent bridge is erected across the Rivanna. This village is thriving.

County Courts are held on the 4th Monday in every month;—Quarterly in March, June, August, and November.

Judge Field holds his Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery on the 1st of April and September.

UNION MILLS, 68 ms. N.W. by W. of R. and 122 from W., situated on the left bank of the Rivanna, on the post road, 25 miles from Columbia, and 16 from Charlottesville, in the midst of beautiful mountain and river scenery. At this place there are located, a merchant mill, grist and saw mill, and a cotton factory, called the **VIRGINIA UNION FACTORY**.—This factory owned by Messrs. Timberlake and Magruder, is a large and commodious brick building; it runs 1500 spindles, besides the necessary machinery for carding, &c.—it contains 12 power looms, in which several hundred yards of substantial cloth are made per day. The cotton yarn of this establishment is in high repute throughout the state. More than 100 operatives are employed by the enterprising proprietors in the different departments of their establishment.—The place

contains comfortable houses for the accommodation of 18 or 20 families, a tanyard, and a methodist house of worship; besides the elegant dwellings of the proprietors.

WILMINGTON, P. V. 55 ms. N.W. by W. of R. and 132 from W., situated on Rivanna river, 14 miles above its mouth. There are located here 2 taverns, 2 mercantile stores, and a blacksmith shop.

WINN'S TAVERN, P. O. 68 ms. N.W. by W. of R. and 142 from W. in the western part of the county.

VIRGINIA BUSINESS DIRECTORY AND GAZETTEER

AND

RICHMOND CITY DIRECTORY:

1868

Carding Machines

McCray, D. (Columbia)
Davis, W. H.

Country Stores and Merchants

Kent, J. M., Jr.	Chapel Hill
Shepherd, J. F.	Columbia
Davis & Burgess	Columbia
Hodgson, Joseph, Jr.	Columbia
Mahoney, E. N.	Columbia
Simms, C. F.	Columbia
Kent, J. M.	Columbia
Perkins, T.	Columbia
Sea & Sowd	Columbia
Winn, E. A. & Co.	Columbia
Burgess, Morgan	Columbia
Clark, Monteller	Columbia
Rock, W. & Co.	Columbia
Strange, Reuben	Columbia
Hodgson, Jos.	Columbia
Peers, G. H.	Columbia
Shepherd & Co.	Columbia
Wakeham, W. & Co.	Columbia
Lowell, Seay & Morris	Fork Union
Winn, E. A.	Fork Union
Paulett & Haden	Palmyra
Saunders, B. W.	Palmyra
Bullock & Magruder	Union Mills

Lawyers

Gray, A. A.	Palmyra
Pettit, W. B.	
Tutwiler, T. H.	

Dentists

Johnson, G. W.

Flour Mills

Cocke, Cary C.	Bremo Bluffs
McCray, D.	Columbia
Holeman, W. H.	
Norvell & Burgess	
Bragg, John	Chapel Hill
Gray, W. A.	
Wright, G. M.	
Bryan, John R.	Carysbrook
Perkins & Nelson	
Galt, James	Columbia
Perkins & Nelson	
Loving, R. E.	
Stillman & Ashlin	
Snead, W. P.	Fork Union
Seay, Austin	
Clark, Montilla	Palmyra
Wills, A. G. (Solitude)	Palmyra
Sclater, John	Palmyra
Nicholas, Robert	Seven Islands
Bragg, W. J.	Union Mills
Gooch & Allen	Union Mills

Insurance Agents

Jones, Silas B.	Fork Union
Sheriff, Joseph Payne	
Clerk, County Court,	
	Abram Shepard, Jr.
	Abram Shepard, Jr.

VIRGINIA BUSINESS DIRECTORY AND GAZETTEER AND

RICHMOND CITY DIRECTORY:

1877-78

FLUVANNA COUNTY—POPULATION IN 1870—White, 4,778 Colored, 5,097. Total 9,875

COUNTY SEAT, PALMYRA

Vote of the county November 7, 1876: Conservative, 966—Republican, 702

Value of real estate, 1876	\$1,275,402.34
Value of personal property	362,523.00
Tax on real estate	6,377.01
Tax on personal property	1,812.62
County levy	7,336.90

This county was formed from Albemarle in 1777. It lies on the north side of the James river, with Goochland on the east, Albemarle on the west, and Louisa on the north. It is distant about forty miles from Richmond. The James river and Kanawha canal traverses its entire southern boundary. This is a fine farming section, and produces excellent crops of tobacco, wheat, oats and corn. The county has an area of 281 square miles, and the average assessed value of the land is about \$7 per acre

Post-Offices.

Antioch
Bremo Bluff
Central Plains
Columbia
Fork Union
Hunter's Lodge
Kent's Store
Palmyra (c.h.)
Seven Islands
Union Mills
Wilmington

Courts.

THE CIRCUIT COURT of the

Sixth Circuit meets at Palmyra on the 10th. April and 10th. September.

**Judge, Henry Shackelford.
Clerk, Wm. Sclater.**

THE COUNTY COURT meets at the C.H. on the Fourth Monday in each month

**Judge, D. W. K. Bowles
Clerk, Wm. Sclater**

County Officers.

**Sheriff, Lewis J. Walton
Treasurer, Luther R. Payne
Surveyor, O. B. Thomas**

Com'r. Rev., S. J. Seay
Com'th Att'y, Thos. H. Tutwiler

Magistrates

J. A. Landrum, J. Madison,
Wm. Hodgson, Columbia;
W. S. Branhan, Fork Union;
J. R. Noel, Central Plains.

Churches and Pastors.

Baptist

Antioch—Rev. Wm. Hall,
Central Plains
Beaver Dam—Wm. Hall,
Union Mills
Bethel—Rev. C. Dickerson,
Fork Union
Bula—Rev. C. Dickerson,
Kent's Store
Corinth—Rev. C. Dickerson,
Fork Union
Edgewood—Rev. C. Dickerson,
Palmyra
Fluvanna—..... Central Plains
Lyle's—Rev. C. Dickerson,
Wilmington
Columbia—Rev. Wm. Hall,
Columbia

Episcopal

Columbia—Rev. Dr. Morrison,
Columbia

Methodist

Byrd Chapel—Rev. J. W. Howard,
Bowlesville
Cunningham's—Rev. J. W. How-
ard,
Palmyra
Palmyra Church—Rev. J. W.
Howard,
Palmyra

Schools and Colleges.

The county is moderately well
supplied with public schools. Dr.
P. J. Winn, Superintendent, Fork
Union

Hotels.

Payne James, Palmyra
Strange, R. C., Palmyra

Lawyers.

Gray, A. A., Palmyra
Parrish, J. Saml., Kents Store
Pettit, Pembroke, Palmyra
Pettit, Wm. B., Palmyra
Powell, J. J. A., Columbia
Tutwiler, T. H., Palmyra
Shepherd, J. O., Palmyra

Merchants and Tradesmen.

Agee, Stewart C., Colum-
bia Liquors
Anderson, Jas. H., Fork
Union G M
Bagby, J. W., Central
Plains Builder
Belamy, Wm., Hunter's
Lodge G M
Bland, C. B., Hunter's
Lodge G M
Boston, D. R., Union Mills G M
Boswell, W. T., Brema
Bluff G M
Brigg, Saml. S., Seven Is-
lands G M
Bragg, Wm. J. Jr., Pal-
myra G M
Brightwell & Son, Fork
Union G M
Burgess & Co., Central
Plains G M
Cocke, W. R., Union Mills G M
Cowherd, T. E. & Bro.,
Columbia G M
Currin, H. C., Brema
Bluff G M
Glass, Wm., Brema Bluff G M
Grant, Beverly, Columbia G M
Haden, John O., Palmyra G M
Harris & Shepherd, Pal-
myra G M
Hodgson Wakeham, Co-
lumbia G M

Hudson, B. F., Hunters		Taylor, A. J., Central	
Lodge	G M	Plains	G M
Jackson, E. P., Columbia	G M	Tutwiler, E. M. & E. E.,	
Jenkins, P. P., Columbia	G M	Palmyra	G M
Jones, A. M., Breomo Bluff	G M	Tutwiler, Thos. P., Scotts-	
Kent & Parish, Kent's		ville, Albemarle Co.	G M
Store	G M	Wakeham W & Co., Co-	
Kent, J. F., Antioch	G M	lumbia	Merchant Tailors
Kidd, J. T., Central Plains	G M	Winn, E. A., Fork Union	G M
Noells, J. R., Central		White & Appleberry,	
Plains	Tanner	Hunter's Lodge	G M
Norvell, J. M., Breomo			
Bluff	G M	<i>Mills and Owners.</i>	
Parrish, Wm. S., Kent's		Palmyra, Tutwiler & Shepherd,	
Store	G M	Palmyra	
Payne, J. S., Columbia	G M	Middleton, C. R. F. & A. J. Seay,	
Peers, G. H., Columbia Shoemaker		Seven Islands	
Perkins & Bowles, Wil-		Solitude, Martha C. Wills,	
mington	G M	Palmyra	
Price, H. M., Antioch		Virgin, M. L. Tutwiler,	
	Real Est. Agt.	Seven Islands	
Price, H. M., Central		Rivanna, Wm. A. Rison, Columbia	
Plains	Vineyard	Union, Union Mill Co.,	
Richardson, A. J., Colum-		Union Mills	
bia	Vineyard	<i>Physicians.</i>	
Rison, Wm. A., Colum-		Anderson, Geo. L.,	Wilmington
bia	Vineyard	Bledsoe, Jno. H.	Central Plains
Saddler & Thomas, An-		Melton, Jno. F.	Wilmington
tioch	G M	Nelson, J. J.	Columbia
Shepherd, Jno. F., Co-		Lambert, Wm.,	Central Plains
lumbia	G M	Snead, Geo. H.	Fork Union
Smither, Robt. H., Co-		Talley, Horace A.	Palmyra
lumbia	G M	Winn, P. J.	Fork Union
Strange, R. C., Palmyra	G M	Winn, Jno. F.	Kent's Store

Principal Farmers

BREMO BLUFF—Cary C. Cocke, 1522; Henry W. Wood, 750; Riley C. Taney, 400; Wm. H. Holman, 398; Robt. Alvis, 620; J. M. Norvell, 308.

CENTRAL PLAINS—L. A. Luckado, 330; Garland Farrar, 575; Christopher Hornsey, 728; Jno. H. Bledsoe, 200.

COLUMBIA—Ro. J. Layne, 328; Jno. R. Bryan, 1055.

FORK UNION—Austin Seay, 404; Wm. P. Snead, 632; James M. Thomas, 800; Wm. L. Anderson, 200; Robt. B. Hughes, ; Saml. J. Seay, 382; Benj. C. Anderson, 400.

HUNTER'S LODGE—D. J. Appleberry, 493; St. Geo. F. Evans, 408; Asa D. Haden, 540; Wm. W. Wood, 640.

KENT'S STORE—Jas. M. Kent, Jr. 650; Wm. H. Noel, 380, Geo. L. Anderson, 515; David S. Baker, 211.

PALMYRA—M. H. Marshall, 366; L. R. Shiflett, 365; John Sclater, 1571; Horace A. Talley, 454; Wm. D. Haden, Sr., 535; R. A. Noel, 400; Rich'd Noel, 476; Wm. C. Payne, 366.

UNION MILLS—D. R. Boston, 527; Jas. T. Jones, 863.

WILMINGTON—John C. Holland, 254; Geo. W. Pettit, 200; Richd. Omohundro, 377; Thos. H. Perkins, 439; C. O. Perkins, 584; Henry W. Baskett, 1154; Benjamin B. Wills, 340; Wm. M. Shepherd, 660.

RICHMOND—Franklin Stearns, 1700.

SCOTTSVILLE, ALBEMARLE—Wm. P. Adams, 628; John Shultz, 725; Jos. H. Fox, 525; Edward Moon, 679.

VIRGINIA GAZETTEER AND CLASSIFIED BUSINESS DIRECTORY 1890-91

FLUVANNA COUNTY—Fluvanna was formed in 1777 from Albemarle and is bounded north by Louisa and Albemarle, south by Cumberland and Buckingham, east by Goochland, and west by Albemarle. The Richmond and Alleghany passes through the county on the north bank of the James River, which skirts its southern border. The Rivanna River extends north and south through the middle of the county, dividing it into two nearly equal parts, and plentifully watering it. This is a fine farming section, and the lands readily produce excellent crops of corn, oats, grass, wheat and tobacco—of the last named over a million pounds annually. The minerals are gold, iron, asbestos, soapstone, and granite, and the timbers are pine, oak, walnut, hickory, beech, birch, and dogwood. Palmyra, the county seat, is on the Rivanna River, twelve miles from Columbia, a station on the Richmond and Alleghany railroad, with which it has daily mail communication. The county has an area of two hundred and eighty-one square miles, or one hundred and eighty thousand eight hundred and forty-three acres, and the land has an average assessed value of \$4.80 per acre.

Post Offices

Antioch	
Bremo Bluff, W. C. White	
Bybee, R. S. White	
Cary's Brook, C. E. Jones	
Central Plains,	Haden
Columbia, Joseph Payne	
Fork Union, W. H. Sadler	
Hunter's Lodge, W. J. Payne	
Kent's Store, G. H. Kent	
Palmyra (c.h.), Joel Haden	
Payne's	
Seven Islands,	Tutwiler
Shore's, A. L. Seay	
Stage Junction	
Stillman, J. W. Rison	
Union Mills, H. C. McDonald	
Vallena, R. R. Pleasants	
Wilmington, R. Omohundro	

Coach and Wagon Builders

Glass, E. S.	Central Plains
Gillespie, J. D.	Bybee
Gooch, W. C.	Kent's Store
McCulloch, Thomas	Shores
Madison, E. L. & Co.	Palmyra
Terrell, W. E.	Palmyra

Distillers

Creecy, Jesse	Central Plains
Diggs, Charles	Kent's Store
Haden, W. H.	Palmyra
McDonald, W. J.	Union Mills
Martin, J. H.	Palmyra
Proffitt, T. J.	Hunter's Lodge
Roberts, H. C.	Bybee
Shepperd, C. S.	Columbia
Winn, P. J.	Fork Union

Attorneys-at-Law

Gray, A. A.	Palmyra
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Shepherd, J. O.	Palmyra	Taylor, J. R.	Bremo Bluff
Parrish, J. Samuel	Richmond	Weaver, W. J.	Fork Union
	Henrico County	White, R. S. & Co.	Hunter's Lodge

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 Pettis, S. S., Columbia;
 Scruggs, C. L., Mrs., Shores
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Haden, L. O.	Palmyra
Haden, W. H.	Palmyra
Hodgson, G. P.	Columbia
Howard, R. J. (saloon)	Palmyra
Jenkins, R. T.	Columbia
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Kent, J. F.	Antioch
Kidd, J. T.	Central Plains
Kimbrough, N. E.	Bremo Bluff
McDonald, W. J.	Union Mills
Martin, J. H.	Palmyra
Moon, A. F.	Cary's Brook
Parrish, W. S.	Kent's Store
Payne, J. S.	Columbia
Payne, W. J.	Hunter's Lodge
Phillips, V. W.	Antioch
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Virginia Fire & Marine
 Mutual Assurance Society
 Virginia State

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Millinery

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Armstrong, Jas. & Co.	Union Mills
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Middleton Mills,	Shores
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Peploe,	Columbia
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Palmyra Graded High School	
	Palmyra

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FLUVANNA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY REPORT FOR 1969

In the past, reports on the activities of the Fluvanna County Historical Society have been given in letters mailed to the members at least once a year. Since this bulletin contains the membership of the Society, we are including the report for 1969 as well.

As you will note, the membership of our Society has reached 250 with 10 out-of-state members and one from a foreign country. Those wishing to sponsor new members should submit the names to the officers of the Society.

The three annual meetings of the past year were interesting and successful. The spring meeting was held at Byrd Chapel Church at Kents Store with Dr. Charles R. Guthrie of Richmond showing two reels of film on old Kents Store, especially featuring the "vanishing country store." This film was shown twice, first to the residents of the neighborhood, and then to the members of the Society and their guests.

The summer meeting featured a talk on Old Mills by Mr. David Baldwin, President of the Virginia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and was planned for the lawn of Mountain View at Palmyra, the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Shepherd. Due to rain Mr. Baldwin spoke in the Courthouse and refreshments were served at Mountain View.

The fall meeting was held at the Courthouse and Mrs. Henry McGehee presented a program of slides to show "Homes Fluvannians Built." The collection of these slides of Fluvanna homes has been a project of the Society for the past year. We have now taken over 200 slides of Fluvanna homes. Since Mrs. McGehee's program was a survey of Fluvanna homes and their unique features, we plan to use the rest of the slides for the spring program when Mr. Randy Lanford will present the histories of some of the homes. From the inception of this project, it has been our aim to put a set of these slides in the Fluvanna schools with a tape recorded commentary.

Another project of the Society this year has been the rescue of an historic marker from the banks of the old James River-Kanawha Canal near Bremo. This marker was in the way of the new water system plant so it was moved to the Museum grounds where we hope to provide a proper setting

for it in conjunction with the paddles of the old canal boat. As planned, this exhibit should be an asset to the Museum and an attractive addition to the grounds. The marker is inscribed: "Jan. 8, 1838, Sands O'Brien, Contractor, broke ground for the James River Kanawha Canal Co."

In October we were asked to present a report of the activities of our Society at the annual meeting of the Virginia History Federation in Fredericksburg. We were especially asked to tell how our young Society in a rural county has so successfully operated a Museum in the Old Stone Jail.

We are happy to report that, with the cooperation of many organizations, the Old Stone Jail Museum had another successful summer season. Opening day was a huge success, featuring new exhibits, antique cars, and special entertainment provided by the high school band and choir.

Among the new acquisitions of the Museum this year are many interesting items from the estate of Mrs. Sallie Gray Perkins, formerly of Fluvanna, given or lent by Rice University of Texas. We also wish to thank Mr. Willie Ripley for his gift of old newspapers, Mr. Harold Haislip for the Indian arrows and Mrs. Russell S. Proctor of Richmond for pictures and documents on Rivanna Mills which she has lent the Museum for an indefinite period.

The Fluvanna Chamber of Commerce has been most generous and civic minded in granting the Museum fifty dollars a year.

The first special exhibit of the summer featured pictures, account books, artifacts and other memorabilia of Fluvanna mills. The Point of Fork Chapter of the Daughters of The American Revolution provided a Fourth of July exhibit, and Mrs. Margaret Charlton graciously provided an exhibit of her art work. Plans are already afoot for the first special exhibit next summer: a spinning and weaving exhibit. Those who have handwoven articles they would be willing to exhibit should contact the president of the Society.

We wish to thank all those who made this season a success, including Mrs. H. F. Browning, Chairman of the Museum; Miss Minnie C. Jones and her committee of ladies who were in charge of the Family Room; Mrs. W. W. Bercaw and Mrs. B. W. Seay who refurbished the Documents Room—and Mrs. J. O. Shepherd who lent material from Mountain View for special exhibits; Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Fleming who worked

so hard on the Farm Room, and Mr. George Madison, who continued his good work in the Patriots Room. We also thank Mrs. Seay and Mrs. John Wills, the "keepers of the keys;" Judge B. W. Seay, our "right-hand man;" and all those who so graciously served as hostesses.

Our first bulletin of the year, like Bulletin #7, was a lighter and delightful account of the past, for it included excerpts from "Things I Remember," the memoirs of Mrs. Sallie Sadler Cleveland, written in her 93rd year. Following this statistical Bulletin, #9, we will return to original research in Fluvanna history with the publication of a manuscript on old Fluvanna mills.

This year we have seen some results of our work with surveys done by the Virginia Commissions on Historic Landmarks and Outdoor Recreation. We have cooperated in every way possible with these agencies, answered letters, furnished written or published information, sent them pictures, and guided their personnel in their tours of our county. You have probably noted in the newspapers that several sites and structures in Fluvanna have been designated historic state landmarks, and the Rivanna River was included in the Scenic Rivers Report.

We hope in the future to, in some way, share with you the correspondence which we answer from other societies and the published material which they have sent us. Their Bulletins can be seen in the Museum. We also continue to answer mail from researchers from all parts of the globe, for these seekers always have something to share with our Society and Museum.

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* Charter Member

52-
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The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$5.00; a life membership costs \$50.00. A bulletin will be published twice a year, to be distributed for [REDACTED] a copy. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The Society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: The Editor, Bulletin of the Historical Society, Palmyra, Virginia.

The Bulletin of the
FLUVANNA COUNTY
Historical Society

Number 10 & 11

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COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

Built in 1830

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OLD MILLS OF FLUVANNA

I	The Mills of Yesterday	7
II	Early Records and Mills	10
III	Wood's Map of 1820	12
IV	Creek Mills	
	Ballenger Creek	12
	Byrd Creek	13
	Carys Creek	14
	Bremo Creek	15
	Little Bremo Creek	16
	Rockfish Creek – Seven Isles	17
V	James River – Middleton Mills	18
VI	Hardware River – Kidd's Mill	19
VII	I Remember, I Remember	19
VIII	They Ground Exceedingly Fine	21
IX	Millers, Mills and Mechunk	24
X	Solitude Stands	25
XI	Rivanna River Mills	26
	The Union Mills	26
	Palmyra Mills	28
	Carysbrook Plantation Mill	29
	"De Kingfish:" Rivanna Mills	29

FOREWORD

The credit for this bulletin goes to my husband, Henry Corr McGehee, for it is he who has noted the sites of the mills chronicled here. He has walked the farms and creeks of his county and knows them well. Without him to show us, to explain to us, old mills would never have meant anything in our life – unless there remained an interesting old building to explore.

Appreciation and merit are also due Mr. R. E. Hannum and Mrs. E. P. Snead who travelled the roads of mill research before us, and passing, left trail signs along the way. And we wish to thank Richard George, Clerk of Fluvanna County, for sharing an interest in old mills; his enthusiasm opened many doors to mills of the past. And we want to thank each resident of Fluvanna, and each descendant of a Fluvannian, who has patiently answered our questions about old mills, and all who have shared their memories, pictures and documents.

And when you read, do not tell us how many mills we have failed to record. We know. We could not even mention our favorite old dam on Long Island Creek, near the Page Gold Mine. We have not learned all its history, but there is the dam of carefully placed rocks, anchored in arbutus and ladyslippers.

Minnie Lee McGehee

March 1970

OLD MILLS OF FLUVANNA

I

The Mills of Yesterday

Here is the mill with the humming of thunder,
Here is the weir with the wonder of foam,
Here is the sluice with the race running under—
Marvellous places, though handy to home!

—Robert Louis Stevenson

The mills of yesterday played a large role in family and community life, and they dwell in the memory of all those who were privileged to listen to the roar of the water over the millwheel, and the rumble of the grinding stones, or to sniff the satisfying odor of newly ground corn meal.

Today we reach old mills down a dimly defined track, banked in moss, littered with years of leaves lovingly covering ancient scars. The sound of falling water leads us on to find the sturdy foundations, a half-buried millstone, and wooden gears turning to dust.

Through the very nature and needs of a water mill, it grew in loveliness. Despite a litter of rusted iron, wornout wheels and discarded logs, it still achieved beauty. This was especially true of the creek mills— they nestled into their surroundings, covered with vines, shaded by trees. As his business prospered, the miller would extend the roof to add a lean-to, adding grace and slanting lines. And there was the greatest wonder, the water wheel— to provide music, a perfect circular symbol of Time and Eternity.

Many people believe the old mills worth saving, and sleepy old buildings are waking to a new life of usefulness. Mill enthusiasts are led by a nostalgia for lost beauty, for their lost youth when, they believe, a man put all his heart into his work, finding it a joy and not a nerve-racking grind.

Alexander Percy has put it into words for us all:

There was the dam, and the mill-pond above and behind it;
there was the huge water-wheel which sloshed and turned
when the sluice was opened; there were the great
millstones. . .between which the corn filtered to its golden
doom; and there was the miller, a bit sweaty and covered with
a lovely creamy dust of meal, especially his eyebrows and
mustache. Sometimes I was allowed to ride behind Reuben

when he took a sack of corn to be ground. We would wait till the resulting sack of meal was ready to be put over the pommel and jogged home...to be manipulated into corn-pones of unspeakable crunchiness and savor. The meal would be still damp and warm when it was turned over to us, and it was hard not to eat it raw, like chickens, so rich and really fundamental it smelled.¹

One of the first aims of man was to find some kind of power to relieve his good right arm of some of its work. Thus the first mills were born. The creek, the tide, or the wind—these were the servants of our forebears, grinding their grain, sawing their timbers, carding their wool.

Man had no control over the winds and tides, intangibles free to come and go, so pioneers pushing westward in this new country gladly turned to the numerous creeks for power. Except in flood or drought, they were a more stable and predictable source of power. As soon as the pioneer miller had erected a shelter for his family, he turned about to find a fall upon a stream.

Mills were the first processing plants, the early industries of this new country. As the Fluvanna area attracted early settlers, every landowner with a suitable stream soon had a grist mill to turn out "the staff of life." Later, larger mills were built which could also grind wheat for flour, or saw timber. Some of the water power was used to card wool.

The Indians had taught the early settlers to grow corn, and corn bread was the staple food for settlers in this Piedmont of Virginia. It remained a favorite hot bread, and corn batter bread was served at least once a day. Corn was customarily taken to the neighborhood mill in small "batches," usually once a week, so the meal would always be fresh. (This was still true in the early decades of this century. Every family had a meal chest in the kitchen—and a flour barrel in the pantry.) When the level of the meal in the chest was low, someone was dispatched to the corncrib to shell some corn to be taken to the local mill for grinding.

The mills played an important part in the social, economic and political life of the community. In the early settlements there were but two social centers, and all roads led "to Mill or to Meeting." The mill was the club, the favorite gathering place for sharing news and debating the issues of the day. Here the henpecked husband could regain his self-esteem, the local statesman find an audience, and the farmer ascertain how his neighbors' crops were standing the drought. There might be but one or two backless chairs around, but there were always bags or piles of lumber of some sort to lean on. Many jests and contests displaying feats of strength helped to while away the time as the corn was ground.

The "jolly miller" was not only the kingpin of all social life for miles around; he was a gifted man, designing and setting up his own mill in all its parts. He was a leader in the community, with a steady income derived from a large circle of friends and acquaintances. However, no money was passed at the small mills; the miller took his toll from the finished product.

The grist mill was a family affair, with the miller's home and family at the end of the path. Here, beneath cobwebs heavy with dust and the yellow mist of meal, was the children's first school. And when the sun slipped below the treetops, and the farmer had reached home with his meal and enough news for a week's talk, and the miller had stopped the wheel and dropped the latch on the door, the mill became a meeting place for young lovers.

The mill met the local needs in so many ways. When the miller ground for the surrounding neighborhood, though that neighborhood might have a radius of ten miles, his mill was a "custom mill." When he ground meal or flour to be sent to a distance, his mill became a "merchant mill." At the larger mills, the mill owner became a buyer, seller, commission agent, counselor, price-setter, lawyer and banker—extending credit, making loans with interest, writing his own notes and mortgages.

The beaten paths to the early mills became roads and towns were built around mills. The first reference we can find to Palmyra, the county seat of Fluvanna County, is the name "Palmyra Mills" on a map of 1820. The town grew because of the mill. The millowner wanted the Courthouse Road to pass by his mill, and gradually the mill and the clustering shops and homes lured the county seat across the Rivanna River. (In 1828 plans were made to erect new court buildings at Palmyra.)

There are three ways to garner information about old mills: by talking to older residents of each neighborhood, from county court records, and by walking along the streams of Fluvanna.

On the banks of the creeks and rivers can still be seen fascinating physical evidence of sturdy dams and locks, earthen races, and enduring rock foundations. Some mills ceased operations so long ago that there is not even a family descendant left in the county to tell their history. But it was difficult to dispose of those huge rocks and leave no mark, and equally hard to smooth off the race which threaded the hillside.

For instance, our best information about one mill on Byrd Creek is determined from the physical remains. By local memory, the millhouse has not existed since 1830, but the mile-long millrace still curves around the hillside from the dam site on Kents Branch to end on the slope above the lowgrounds of the Big Byrd near route 630, the old White Hall Road. It is believed to be one of the mills built about 1800 by John Adams, who

received an early patent for hundreds of acres of land on Byrd Creek.

Mr. R. E. Hannum once pinpointed a mill that was built, that ground meal for the neighborhood, and that passed from existence, before September 1775. He not only found the remains on "Mychunk Creek" near its confluence with the Rivanna River, but he found a deed in which James Adams of Albemarle sold 50 acres of land to Thomas Rountree, the land lying on the north side of the Rivanna and Mechunk Creek, the boundaries ending as follows: "to a branch that runs into Mychunk Creek where the old mill stood."

Finding mill sites by names given in records, or handed down by word of mouth, is sometimes difficult, for the name by which local people called a mill changed with each change in ownership or millers. The mill was most often known by the miller's name. For instance, Solitude Mill on Cunningham Creek, long owned by the Wills family, has been known as Wills's Mill, Griffin's Mill, Anderson's Mill, Tilman's Mill, and Roger's Mill.

II

Early Records and Mills

There is a wealth of records of early mills in the county clerk's office. A mill dam could not be built on a stream without permission from the county justices. The Court appointed a group of men to view the site and report to them.

The earliest writ of *aquod damnum* we could find recorded after the formation of the county in 1777 was dated January 22, 1793, permitting James Hopkins to build a dam on Driver's Creek. The mill stood on the west side of the creek as it flowed down to the James River near Scottsville (later, the site of a cannery).

The court record for the Hopkins mill is typical of the writs found on pages of yellowed deed books:

The Commonwealth of Virginia To the Sheriff of Fluvanna County Greetings: You are hereby commanded to summon and inpanel twelve fit persons of your County by whom the truth of the matter may be the better known to meet on Tuesday the twenty-second day of this Instant (January) upon the Lands of James Hopkins situate on both sides of Driver's Creek the ^{s^d} James Hopkins is desirous of erecting a Water-Grist Mill and Saw-Mill. And that you charge the ^{s^d} Freeholders impartially to view the place proposed by the ^{s^d} James Hopkins for the purpose aforesaid, and the Lands

adjacent thereto, and diligently examine what Lands may be overflowed, and say to what damage it will be to the several proprietors, and whether the Mansion House, of any such proprietor, or the Offices, Curtilage or Garden whereto immediately belonging or Orchards will be overflowed; also whether, and what degree fish of passage; and ordinary Navigation be obstructed thereby; whether by any, or by what means such obstruction may be prevented, and whether in their opinion the health of the Neighbors will be annoyed by the stagnation of Waters: And the Inquisition there upon openly and distinctly made to us. . .

The examiners were "duly sworn on the Holy evangelists," and "In obedience to an Order made by the Worshipful County Court of Fluvanna" they met on the land and made their report at the next court. Thus the applicant received permission to build his dam.

In many cases they did find that the dam would flood a small area belonging to a neighbor and decided upon a just payment: "(we) find that about one Acre of Land the property of John Scott, Esq. will be overflowed. . .and that the damage which in consequence thereof to the s^d John Scott will be four pounds two Shillings."

Impartial judgments were sought, and a 1794 writ instructed the inspectors:

...these freeholders taking nothing on pain of being discharged from the Inquest, and immediately imprisoned (by the Sheriff) either of meat or drink from any person whatever from the time they shall come to the said place until their inquest is sealed. . .

It is impossible to even list all the early mills which once operated in Fluvanna, but a few very early ones should be mentioned. A deed dated 1793 proved that a Mr. Haden had a mill on Cunningham Creek at that time. In 1794 Michael Atkisson built a water grist mill on Shepherd's Creek near its junction with the Hardware River. In 1805 Larkin Bransom built a 7¼-foot dam on Briery Creek, a branch of the Hardware, north of Scottsville.

The Austin Seay Mill stood on Crook's Creek as early as 1803, the dam 18 feet high. James Black built a mill on the north fork of the Cunningham Creek by 1815. Allen Barnerd, a county justice, was quite enterprising, for in 1803 he was operating a mill on Adrian's Creek (Boston Creek), for the new town of Barnerdsburg on the Rivanna. (This river crossing is now called Crofton and nearby is the new dam for Lake Monticello. In building the new dam the last trace of the old mill and dam

was destroyed.) In 1804 Barnerd opened a tanyard, and in 1805 William Jones built a sawmill on the same creek to furnish lumber for the new town.

III

Wood's Map of 1820

Wood listed 14 mills on the county map drawn in 1820, but records indicate that others did exist at that time:

Magruder's Mill on Beaverdam Creek
Union Mills on the Rivanna
Moon's Mill on Briery Creek
Virgin's Mill at Seven Islands
Scott's Mill and Canal near Breemo Creek
Winn's Mill on Breemo Creek
Cocke's Mill on Little Breemo Creek
Wood's Mill and Canal on the Rivanna near Columbia
Ashlin's Mill (Rivanna Mills) on the Rivanna
Strange's Mill on the upper reaches of Ballenger Creek
Strange's Mill near mouth of Ballenger Creek
Payne's Mill on Phill's Creek (Branch of Byrd)
Venable's Mill on east branch of Byrd
Palmyra Mill on the Rivanna

IV

Creek Mills

Ballenger Creek

The number of documents in the county offices detailing information about Fluvanna mills is amazing, but more amazing to us, are the number of dams and mill sites that can be seen today on the bank of any creek in the county.

On Ballenger Creek alone, in a seven-mile stretch, can be seen the remains of seven or eight dams, some in very good shape. On the upper reaches was Haden's Mill, and by 1830 Walker Timberlake had a mill on the north branch. Flanagan's Mill stood near Wildwood until after 1900, and a little farther downstream stood a mill named for Gideon Alloway Strange. It seems Strange was the presiding genius of mills on Ballenger, and in 1833 he had two mills just a mile apart.

He had a storage dam just below route 632, and if you follow the crooks of the creek you will come to another of his mills. By 1835 Edmund George had a mill here on "Alloway's Millsite" and for his mill he had a 15-acre lake. (Standing on the handsome rock dam today, you do not see a large lake spread before you, but if you will look down at your feet, you will find you are circled in a whirl of maidenhair fern.)

Below route 601 across Ballenger's Creek were at least two mills. At one time the upper one was called McKeand's Mill and it stood on land owned by the George family in mid-nineteenth century. The 1820 map shows another "Strange's Mill" farther downstream near the mouth of Ballenger. (Strange also built a lock at his proposed mill site on the Rivanna above Carysbrook in 1830.)

Byrd Creek

A mill still alive in the memories of Fluvanna folk is the old Holland Mill on Kents Branch of the Byrd. The dam washed out in an 1858 freshet and it was never rebuilt. The large quarried stones from the abutment of the 20-foot dam were placed around the cemetery of the Holland and Perkins families.

Hezekiah Holland built the millhouse of huge heart-pine timbers to endure, possibly trying to ensure food for the long line of descendants he envisioned. The rock walls of the basement were three feet thick. Soon after 1816 flour was ground as well as corn. Before this, Ashlin's Rivanna Mills was the only flour mill in the area.

In 1805 John Kent built a mill to grind corn and card wool on Kents Branch, a mill which ran for many, many years, and is best remembered as Bragg's Mill.

Gray's Mill on Byrd, not far from route 659, near Wilmington, was important in the lives of people still living. Sam and Clifton Wright are remembered as the able millers at this mill once owned by a Gray. Could this have been the site of one of the three mills erected by John Adams between 1805 and 1810? Mr. Vest Payne has a plat dated 1838 which shows this mill, and his neighbor Henry Bell tells of an incident which happened about 1856. His uncle Branch Bell remembered that he and his brother, Henry, rode down to the mill one winter's day to get the meal ground. The snow was so deep the youngsters took two horses, so the first horse could break a track for the second, laden with bags of corn behind the rider. (Henry Bell was later killed in the battle of Gettysburg.)

Gray's Mill operated until around World War II. The millpond remained, a favorite fishing spot, until high water broke the dam about

1948. Even then much of the wooden crib dam remained, as did the small millhouse. The flood of August 19, 1969 is the villain of this story; with water over 35 feet high, it swept away the millhouse and the last vestiges of the dam.

Thomas Anderson Hughes had a mill on Byrd a fraction of a mile downstream from the old covered bridge on the Stage Road from Stage Junction to Kents Store. It is believed that this mill washed out about the time of the War Between the States. One of the millstones was given to the county by William Ronald Cocke, III, and it was placed in the garden at the Old Stone Jail Museum in Palmyra.

In 1830 Benjamin Bowles asked permission to build a mill lower down the Byrd to grind corn and wheat and card wool. The mill was known by his son's name: "The Jesse Bowles Mill." One diary records that the Yankees under Dahlgren burned this mill near the end of the war.

Jesse Bowles was a millwright and still operated the mill after he sold it in 1840 to Alexander and Duncan McRae of Columbia, who owned many thriving enterprises there. The mill was rebuilt following the war, and in 1868 a business directory stated that Duncan McRae owned carding machines and a flour mill. On December 31, 1849 Philip St. George Cocke wrote them from Belmead: "I send you my check. . . for fifty and 20/100 dollars as full of your bill for carding wool and making woollen cloth—the Cloth was quite good."

Carys Creek

Records of mills on the branches of Carys Creek are a bit confusing, and no one knows for sure how many there have been. This is another example of how many mills existed in a small area of the county, and how important they were to the community.

There was a mill on Martin's Creek, one branch of Carys, even before 1796, for a permit of that year to John Ford provided for a water grist mill on Martin's Mill Creek; so, you see, Martin had a mill years before Ford. In 1832 Richard B. Payne decided to build a 20-foot dam on Martin's Creek for the purpose of running a water grist mill and other engines and machines. (Richard B. Payne was a prosperous man, born one month after the 1776 Declaration of Independence.)

A dam on Able Creek is interesting, for the portion remaining shows slate rock mixed with field stone—a dam built so long ago that it defies local memories. It is near abandoned slate quarry pits, but the dam broke many years before prospectors scarred the hillsides.

Benjamin and George Anderson planned a mill on a branch of Carys in

1812, and in 1817 John Snead built a dam on the south fork of Carys Creek, the dam not to be so high "as to overflow the ford between Fork Ordinary and Bryant's Ford Road."

Another mill stood on Carys Creek not very far from the Rivanna which evidently served Carysbrook Plantation. Plantation records mention the purchase of a new saw in 1827, and in 1828 George W. Wright was paid \$19.50 for 19½ days work on the mill, probably repairs. The Gay family bought the mill in the 1830's and began an unusual industry. They supplied mill spindles of heart pine for overshot water wheels.

A plat, c. 1840, shows the grain mill, the separate building which housed the saw mill, and the public road. When the dam at Rivanna Mills was raised, boats could enter the mouth of Carys and load crossties and other produce at the wharf which can still be detected just below the present George P. Griffin Bridge. This millpond was a noted fishing place, for it abounded with large-mouth bass. We have heard that the dam was cut just prior to the Civil War in order to use the bottom land for farming.

Bremo Creek

Less evident, but well documented, are the nest of early mills on and near Big Bremo Creek. In June, 1795, Thomas Winn was granted permission to build a water grist mill on the east bank of Big Bremo Creek about one mile from its confluence with the James River. Thomas Winn had a large tract of land on both sides of this creek.

Less than one year later, in February 1796, Thomas Henley received a permit to build a grist mill on the land of John Hartwell Cocke, the elder, deceased. The water would also back on Winn's land. This was a small mill set in the midst of bigger mills, for besides Winn's mill, in 1795 Joseph Wooling had built a water grist mill on a branch of Big Bremo Creek. In 1802 John Hartwell Cocke, the younger, built a milldam to the east on Little Bremo Creek, and the same year Thomas Shores received permission to build a 21-foot dam to the west on Rockfish Creek.

Then in 1810 Charles A. Scott erected a big mill at the mouth of Big Bremo Creek. This mill could almost be classified as a river mill, as he was permitted to use water from the James River, "taking 8 feet of water in wedth out of James River at the place called the Falling Rock" through a canal Capt. John Ware had cut by "blowing away" rock.

The millhouse was on the west side of the mouth of Big Bremo Creek, and according to an old map the canal was about one-half mile long. The dam did not span the James, being only from one of the islands to the north bank, so it did not interfere with the passage of fish either in the creek or the river. After Ware had cut the canal, the James River boats

used it, but the investigating commissioners for Scotts Mill decided the boats could use the "bull sluice about 60 or 70 yards out in the s^d River" which they had used prior to the cutting of Ware's Canal.

Little Bremo Creek

We have mentioned the mill built by General John Hartwell Cocke on Little Bremo Creek. A unique stone mill is still standing. When Cocke took over the management of the estate of Bremo, one of his first considerations was a good grist mill, which he built on "Little Brimmo Creek" about 1802. The dam was 20 feet high. His private records show that repairing and rebuilding his grist mill continued for many years.

Part of the dam collapsed after a heavy rain in 1806, was repaired, but gave away again in 1807. A year later he had the dam rebuilt and in 1809 he replaced the mill machinery. Five years later he needed new millstones, and by 1819 Cocke began to plan an entirely new mill. It is this mill, with the date 1822 above the door, which stands today in good repair, the stones weathered to beautiful soft shades of blue, gray, rose and brown. The upper windows have handsome arched stone "eyebrows" and other windows and doors have decorative stone lintels.

When we first saw the old mill we were enchanted, not realizing that the enchantment would linger for many years and include many mills, though none of them would be as lovely. The wooden circlet of the overshot wheel was still clinging to the sun-warmed stone wall, waiting for some hand from long ago to open the sluice and to start its slow turning, setting the wooden cogs creaking. The long millrace is clearly visible today as it winds around the hillside. The mill dam has been recently repaired, and the beautiful stones still gracefully arch the race to form culverts under the old carriage road.

Cocke hoped to make this mill, completed in December, 1822, the most "elegant" in Virginia. "I must warn you," he wrote Joseph Cabell, "that I go not only for comfort & convenience in this improvement but for some fame in the Bargain. . . You may have the best Horse Mill & welcome, but I mean God willing, to have the best water Mill."²

There is proof that Cocke had mills turned by oxen or horses, too. In the big barns at Upper and Lower Bremo you can still see the circle in the floors made by oxen as they turned the shafts of mills. The wooden cogwheels are still in place.

Rockfish Creek – Seven Isles

Thomas Shores built Virgin's Mill on Rockfish Creek about 1802 for the neighborhood centered at Seven Islands. As a settlement, "Seven Isles" must date back before the Revolution, but its beginning is lost to today's researcher. It was named for the islands in the James River which vary in number according to the latest channels cut by flood waters, so the magical number of "Seven" was chosen.

There must have been a mill here before Shores built Virgin's Mill, for there is a well-founded tradition about this millpond on Rockfish. During the Revolution the Continental troops were camped near the spot when they heard the British were coming. The local forces, being greatly outnumbered, threw their equipment into the millpond to thwart the enemy, and beat a hasty retreat. The truth of this story is borne out by the fact that George Seay found many pieces of guns of the Revolutionary period, some metal from swords and other equipment, in the millpond.

A stone marker at a fork of two old roads still points "To 7 Isles Mill." Nestled near the James were the mill, a store, a boat landing, a blacksmith shop, and later, a post office. On the highland stood Seven Isles Church, which, by 1832, was used by the Methodists.

We do not know why the mill at Seven Isles was called Virgin's. It was later called Tutwiler's Mill, for Martin Tutwiler married the daughter of the builder, Maria Shores, on October 30, 1817. He bought the mill from his father-in-law between 1820 and 1830. Tutwiler, it is said, came from the western part of the state to Seven Isles to build Middleton Mills on the James to the east.

Virgin's Mill was a five-story frame building with a heavy rock foundation, the overshot wheel on the east side. The Museum has a picture of the old building, with people gathered round. This was the meeting place for the community—an important stop for packet and freight boats on the James. After the railroad was laid on the towpath of the canal, a spark from a passing train fell on the roof one night in 1893. The roof caught fire, and, the mill being built of heart pine, the flames spread so fast that nothing could be done to save it. Some of the rocks from the foundations were moved to build a retaining wall about the yard of the Tutwiler home, and in 1912 a millstone was broken to provide a foundation for an addition to the house.

The James River — Middleton Mills

Middleton Mills was probably the only James River Mill in Fluvanna. Early records mention Middleton Mills as being at Seven Isles, but that settlement faded away, and the center that grew around Middleton was called Shores.

The first mill here was built for Charles A. Scott, the same man, we presume, who had built the mill on Ware's Canal at the mouth of Breemo Creek in 1810. Virgin's Mill was upstream at the mouth of Rockfish; Scotts old mill, downstream at the mouth of Breemo. Could this mill have gotten its name because it was in the "middle?"

Again Scott used a partial dam in the James and a canal to bring water down for power. The James River-Kanawha Canal Company bought the property from Tutwiler and John B. Hart just before the Canal was built, about 1838. Did the canal engineers make use of Scott's feeder dam and canal? Evidence on the ground leads one to believe that they did. Part of an inlet gate lies half-buried in the bank of the James today at the site of an old dam, just upstream from Shores, but so much was obliterated in building the railroad that any conclusions drawn are open to question. A U.S. Geological Survey of 1897 lists dams on the James. It includes Middleton Mills and describes a low feeder dam, spanning only part of the river below Seven Islands. This description fits Scott's dam.

Middleton Mills burned about 40 years ago and today two beautiful rough keystone arches mark the site. A picture in the Old Stone Jail Museum shows a tremendously tall brick building reached by a bridge over the canal. The east side of the mill boasted 12 windows which looked down on a crowd of people around the mill and on the bridge. Patient oxen doze before the wagons, waiting their masters' pleasure. Just so the people must have gathered to watch the young men in gray embark on a canal boat to travel down the James River-Kanawha Canal to Richmond, and so to war. The men of the Fluvanna Light Artillery had drilled daily, Dr. Cary C. Cocke their Captain. One veteran remembered:

On Sunday, August 4, Rev. A. C. Bledsoe preached to us at Fluvanna Church, an appropriate sermon, and on Tuesday, August 6, we bade a sad farewell to home and loved ones with tearful eyes and well-filled haversacks. We assembled at Middleton Mills where a freight boat was in waiting to convey us to the Confederate Capital.

VI

Hardware River — Kidd's Mill

Another important mill in this area, but nearer Scottsville, stood on the east bank of the Hardware River and was last known as Kidd's Mill. The last owner was Mrs. A. B. Maxey, daughter of John B. Kidd. Mrs. Maxey thought the first mill there was built prior to 1750 and that each successive owner changed or enlarged the mill. The overshot water wheel which provided the grinding power was removed and a turbine installed about 1900.

It was a flour and grist mill and most of the machinery was still in place in 1937, though the mill had not operated since the dam broke about 1911. A blacksmith shop once stood nearby. It was always convenient to have the smithy near the mill, so the horses could be shod while the miller ground the grain and the farmer "killed two birds with one stone." The last building was a three-story structure of beautiful heart pine framing, held with wooden pegs, and the steep roof was covered with hand-riven shingles. Today only remnants of the dam exist, but a picture in the Museum shows that the construction of the wooden part of the crib dam was unusual: It did not go straight across the river. The picture shows a gently curving dam, convex on the downstream side.

VII

I Remember, I Remember. . .

One can only listen and marvel— how vivid are the memories of these old mills! When a Fluvannian tells you about an old mill, you feel that it was operating no longer ago than yesterday. But research may tell you that the mill was destroyed before the Civil War. So clear, so vivid, is the inherited memory, handed down from generation to generation; the old mill is still so much a part of the old homeplace. It is not that these people "live in the past;" it is just that past and present blend to make a larger existence for today.

But the chain of memory has broken, and with the passing of the older generation of today, the mills will truly disappear. For today's families are more mobile and the old homeplace is no longer the family center— and the youngsters are "glued to the tube." No longer do they sit, curled up in a chair by the fireplace on long winter evenings, listening to the old folks spin yarns from "the good old days," when they, too, were young.

Norella Jennings Wood has written about trips to Kidd's Mill, where she went with her grandfather, Benjamin Anderson Sowell, when visiting in Fluvanna:

Each week we shelled the hard white corn in the ancient upright wooden-cased corn sheller. The large iron disk against which the corn ears moved scattered the grains impartially over the unshelled corn and the cornhouse floor, but the bulk of the grain fell in the hopper where the kernels belonged. This machine was hand-operated and took only an ear of corn at a time.

We poured the shelled corn into the cloth sack kept for that particular purpose, dumped the sack into the body of the sort of spring wagon we called a "jersey," and off we went with the good bay named "Planet" clip-clopping along the dirt road.

Inside the mill presided the miller, Mr. Littleberry White, his eyebrows and hair always powdered with the grain dust—a fascinating adornment, I felt. He dumped our corn into the great hopper, and stood at the bin where the meal came dribbling slowly out from between the millstones. Mr. White constantly tested the texture of the meal in his hands and also tested to see that it was not too hot from grinding. I loved the smell and taste and feel of all this, and the high upper stories of the mill were eerie and mysterious with the shrouds of the bolting cloth which were used to sift the flour. Kidd's Mill ground wheat in season.

The river was wonderful. A place to float small ships made of the large leaves from the sycamore trees which shaded the ford. I played there often while my grandfather and his friend the miller talked. Then off we jogged for home. Grandmother made corn pone for midday dinner and batterbread for supper. Ambrosia for the gods!

My grandmother made the delicious corn pone by simply mixing the freshly ground meal with milk or water and a little salt. She patted out the resulting stiff batter in her hands and popped the pones in a hot oven to bake, where they came out with the marks of her fingers on top. With "slathers" of butter and good buttermilk this was GOOD. The supper batterbread was made using a turkey egg (if we were successful in finding the nest) and mixed with buttermilk and soda. She could tell by the sound, when the buttermilk was stirred, just how much baking soda to add. That sound I remember now.

Stories about mills abound, passed down father to son. Mr. Guy Cocke told us such a tale:

A country man was very proud of his new mill and was showing it to an elderly neighbor. The owner bragged and the neighbor demurred. "It's a mighty small mill," he ventured.

"But it can run all day every day and grind a lot of meal," the owner persisted.

"Why, man, I could lick up what meal that little ol' mill could grind!"

"Ye-ah? But for how long?"

"Wal, I guess, until I starved to death!"

Our favorite tall tale is about a mill:

The miller's two sons brought the midday lunch and decided to while away an hour by fishing in the riffles downstream. They soon hooked the proverbial "big one." It was so big that both of them took hold of the pole and pulled. It was just too big for them to pull ashore, so one boy headed home to get the mule to pull that fish out. While waiting, the second boy pushed the pole into the bank and held on for dear life. And do you know, that big fish got sideways across the stream and water started backing up the creek, running through the mill backwards. And before they could stop it, the mill unground twenty barrels of corn!

VIII

They Ground Exceedingly Fine. . .

These mills were not your modern contraptions, spotless and intricate and unintelligible. You saw how it worked when it ran, usually on certain days each week.

To furnish water power, some sort of dam was built to consolidate or increase the amount of waterfall at a millsite, creating a millpond, a reservoir which could store at least part of the flow of the stream to be drawn on as desired. The amount of this storage varied, and sometimes a smaller dam upstream augmented the supply. Some dams were on very small streams—a dam so small that only enough water could be accumulated overnight "to grind the meal for breakfast."

Most early mills in Fluvanna were powered by overshot wheels, so the sluices leading directly from the pond and milldam had to have considerable height, to let the water pour down at the top of the wheel. Or there would be a canal, or race, that carried the necessary water to a

millsite where the mill could be constructed lower than the race level.

We do not know of any instances of undershot or breast wheels in Fluvanna; our steep creek bluffs lent themselves to high dams for overshot wheels. The large mill wheels were expensive. The turbine required less fall, and this may explain why many older mills converted to turbines. The river mills installed turbines, for it was not practical to build such a high dam on the rivers—they washed out often enough built to a lower level.

Undershot wheels, depending on the flow of the tides, were used along the coast. Here, too, the settlers built windmills which depended on vagrant winds for power. Perhaps the small mule-drawn mills—the patient animals plodding round and round—were the windmill equivalent for the hill country.

These water wheels, regardless of type, all revolved relatively slowly, say ten to twenty times a minute, while the millstones required much greater speed. Gearing made almost entirely of wood furnished the additional speed required. . . wood gear tooth meshed with wood gear tooth and furnished quiet and efficient transmission of power. When a tooth wore out or broke, it was a simple matter to shape up a new one and wedge it in place. These wooden gears were easy to construct and to maintain. The machinery could be built with nothing but a few common hand tools of the day—axe, saw, chisel, plane, auger, and mallet—yet it served its purpose admirably and was easily repaired.³

Many owners of the early mills built, operated, and maintained their own mills, though there must have been millwrights who became travelling artisans. In 1890 the *Virginia Gazette* listed some millwrights in Fluvanna: J. D. Brown and S. A. Morris at Hunters Lodge, S. S. Butler at Vallena post office (Kidd's Mill), William Duncan at Shores and J. A. and W. T. Walker at Union Mills.

A bill presented to Duncan McRae for work done on his mill in 1857 included much work and totalled \$487.87. We will list a few of the items:

Taking Out Old Wheel	\$20.00
Taking down Old Forebay, 93 Ft.	69.75
20 feet Wing Wall	42.00
65 feet Forebay	97.50
Making 3 Water gaits \$5.	15.00
Making Bridge 130 ft.	1.62
1 Sliding Gate	1.00
Repairing Water Wheel	25.00
Making 3 Trussels \$7	21.00
Casing and Banding Shaft	30.00

Hanging Crown Wheel	10.00
Hanging Speer Wheel & Cleeting	10.00
Making Master Wheel 7½ Ft.	22.50
Building 1 Privy	10.00

The neighborhood mill usually had only a single pair of millstones. Some of the stones were quite small, such as the stones found on Spring Garden Creek and Little Byrd.

Two kinds of millstones have been seen in Fluvanna. The large granite stones, about five feet in diameter, were made from local quarries. Stone masons spent hours shaping the stones to the required thickness, making them circular, and cutting the furrows for grinding. Also used were burr stones, imported, probably from France, composed of separate blocks fitted together and bound with iron hoops. These imported stones were used to grind wheat.

Most stones seen in Fluvanna today are solid granite, deeply furrowed in a pattern, a series of straight lines, the furrows radiating from the center hole so they led the grist away from the center. Almost all old millstones have now been removed from the mill sites to grace the lawns of Fluvanna homes, or they serve as unique doorsteps.

The lower stone was bedded flat in the floor of the mill, while the upper stone revolved by the machinery of the mill at about 130 turns a minute for a four and a half-foot stone. In later days speeds were somewhat increased. The upper stone, the runner, was born entirely on top of a spindle, a vertical shaft carrying the weight down to a step bearing which could be adjusted vertically. The two stones did not actually touch each other while grinding. If they met, excess heat was generated and both the meal and stones were damaged. So the miller made minute adjustments according to the ancient "rule of thumb," scooping up meal between his fingers.

The grain was poured into a hopper and entered the upper millstone through a hole in the center, called the "eye." The meal emerged at the periphery of the stones. These millstones operated inside a wooden casing which retained the meal as it collected and guided it to fall down a chute into a bin. The average little mill could probably grind about four bushels an hour.

The millstones became dull and too smooth, so they had to be lifted and sharpened, or "dressed." The hopper and casing had to be removed, and then the upper stone, which weighed about a ton, had to be raised, turned over, and laid on a level floor. This was done by using a crane built of huge timbers that somehow resembled a gallows. The arm of the crane would swing out over the stone and the miller would attach to the stone a pair of great tongs—an arched piece of metal called a "Lewis." The miller

revolved a turnscrew in the crane at the top of the Lewis, lifted the millstone, turned it over, and then lowered it to the floor. (Each end of the Lewis had a socket, and a pair of studs passed through the sockets to fit into holes drilled in the rim of the upper stone.) The miller spent days deepening and sharpening the furrows to make the cutting edge sharp. One of his tools resembled a big sharp hammer and was called a "millbill." The bottom stone stayed in place in the floor to be dressed, and one watching the process was glad only one of these mammoth stones had to be lifted.

IX

Millers, Mills and Mechunk

The men of some families such as Wright, Strange, and Flanagan had an affinity for mills. They lived long and prospered in an era that has vanished, yet remnants of their labor remain for us to know.

Ambrose Flanagan had a grist mill—and a sawmill—on "Machunk" Creek as early as 1805. Downstream from Payne's Mill is another millsite attributed to a Flanagan. There have been so many early mills on Mechunk Creek, that it is hard to say which is the ancestor of the last mill, now owned by Ted Payne. It is believed that there was a mill at this site as early as 1792 and tradition states that a Mr. Busby operated a mill here about 50 years before the Civil War.

Around 1929 Ted's grandfather stopped operation of a mill on Big Mechunk and began operations at the present site on Oliver Creek, a branch of Mechunk. Ted rebuilt the milldam in 1959 and began operations on a limited schedule, the only operating water-powered mill in Fluvanna. (The millpond provided welcome recreation for fishermen.) Power was still provided by an overshot wheel (but not a wooden one), and the grist stones used came from a very early mill at Union Mills. About 1939 the flour mill was converted to a roller mill and the old imported composite millstone that had ground flour was placed at the entrance to the old Payne home.

Hurricane Camille came on the evening of August 19, 1969 and sent torrents of water down the streams. The milldam broke and the Payne millhouse was swept from its foundations and left standing forlorn and askew.

X

Solitude Stands

Solitude Mill, on Cunningham Creek near Palmyra, is one of two mill structures left in Fluvanna. (Bremo is the other.) Flood and fire are the enemies of old milldams and mills. Sons of millers love to tell how "during that big flood, the grist mill was lifted right off the foundations and just sailed on down the stream 'til it came to rest against that big sycamore in the bend." Now historic Byrd Mill, the oldest operating mill in this area of Virginia and a tourist attraction, has burned to the ground. But a more inexorable enemy of the mills is the passage of time and the wheels of progress. For instance, the remains of the old Boston Mill succumbed to Lake Monticello, but the industrial age destroyed its usefulness long ago.

But, "there is something romantic about a ruin," and this is certainly true of Solitude Mill. The only brick mill left in Fluvanna, it had withstood Sheridan's raiders, floods and time, until Hurricane Camille's raging water rushed through the door and windows, carrying the back wall away in her fury. Mr. David C. Mangum, the new owner, had done considerable restoration, and now hopes to repair the damage.

In the past, the overflow from the flooded Rivanna backed up the creek, gently flooding Solitude. High water marks and dates had been carved on the boards near the top steps. The mark for the famous flood of 1870 is six inches above the second floor; the flood of May 12, 1924, twelve inches above. Camille's flash flood on August 19, 1969, covered the mill except for the topmost peak of the roof, wetting even the old bolter frames that once held the cloth to sift flour.

Solitude Mill operated until about the beginning of World War II, so except for the break in the dam, the building and its machinery were fairly well preserved. Perhaps this mill had been in continuous operation longer than any other in Fluvanna.

The Wills family, who owned Solitude for many years, believe that the brick mill was built by Albert Gallatin Wills when he bought Solitude Plantation in 1859. But perhaps this was not the first mill for Solitude, for a plat, dated 1836 shows a sawmill on Cunningham Creek near the present mill. The land was once owned by the legendary David Ross who owned thousands of acres. When his daughter Eliza married Jacob Myers about 1800, he gave them the 2500-acre tract known as Solitude.

Water power at the present Solitude was used to run a sawmill, and it is said the water power was even used to crush gold-bearing quartz from the surrounding area. (Later a cannery was built beside the brick mill.) The

Solitude Mill served a large area. A daybook entry of 1881 mentions that a farmer took his grain to Carysbrook Mill and found the race dry because of a summer drought, so he tried Talley's Mill the next day with no better results. The next day he travelled considerable distance to Solitude.

The flour ground from Fluvanna wheat had a particular distinction; it would stand shipment across the equator—most flour would not. So boats were loaded at the landing just below the mill on Cunningham Creek to start the flour on its journey to South America.

Old Solitude Mill barely escaped destruction during the Civil War when Yankee raiders burned so many mills. The women of the neighborhood, it is said, pleaded on their knees that the mill be spared. With all able men at the front, food was becoming scarce, and the cornmeal was their mainstay. Records for the last years of the war give the impression that the Confederacy required the mills to furnish meal and flour to families whose menfolk were in service. With the horses also gone to war, the women and children often walked miles to receive rations. For instance, in December '64 Solitude Mill furnished meal to a family whose father was "home on sick furlough." In January, 1865 the mill furnished 40 pounds of flour for sick sons.

XI

Mills on the Rivanna

The milldams on the Rivanna River were an integral part of the navigation system maintained for transport of freight and passengers. All mills on the Rivanna were required to have a lock at their damsite for the passage of boats, and the millponds provided slack-water navigation for many miles, one dam backing water almost to the next dam upstream. Navigation on the Rivanna was first improved in 1763 under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, and the Rivanna Navigation Company was organized in 1805. Disputes between the Navigation Company and the mill owners were frequent, for though the Rivanna ran more water than it does now, there was not always enough water for both the mill and the locks to operate.

The Union Mills

The community called Union Mills has an interesting history. There was the feeder canal, the grist mill and the sawmill, the famous and profitable Union Factory, the store, blacksmith shop, post office, dwellings on the

hillside, and long barracks—or row houses—for the millworkers.

Early in 1792 John Bowin Magruder acquired land on the north side of the Rivanna River adjoining Adams Falls and by October 1796 he received permission from the Court to partially dam the river and build a water grist mill. The water was to be drawn “from the said River at or near Sly Falls by means of a canal, a dam to be erected some distance into the said River slantwise. . .” In December 1798 he was ready to erect a dam all the way across the river “from his canal for the purpose of working several mills on said canal.” In 1807 the Court gave specifications for the dam and canal and Magruder was required to build a lock in the dam to provide for the passage of boats and fish.

In 1816 Magruder’s daughter inherited the estate. John Timberlake, Jr., had married Wilhemina Jones Magruder in 1813, and soon the business came under the name of Magruder and Timberlake. (By 1831 Timberlake and John B. Magruder, Jr. had purchased Shadwell Mills in Albemarle from the estate of Thomas Jefferson.)

Union Mills Thrived and an 1835 publication describes it as being “in the midst of beautiful mountain and river scenery” and states:

At this place there are located a merchant mill, grist mill and saw mill, and a cotton factory called the Virginia Union Factory.

This factory owned by Messrs. Timberlake and Magruder is a large and commodious brick building; it runs 1500 spindles, besides the necessary machinery for carding, etc.—it contains 12 power looms, in which several hundred yards of substantial cloth are made per day. The cotton yarn of this establishment is in high repute throughout the State. More than 100 operatives are employed by the enterprising proprietors in the different departments of their establishment.

The place contains comfortable houses for the accomodation of 18 or 20 families, a tan yard, and a Methodist house of worship, besides the elegant dwellings of the proprietors.

On October 30, 1862 the Virginia General Assembly passed an act to incorporate the Union Manufacturing Company in Fluvanna, mentioning the names of several Magruders, Dudley Boston, and a Mr. King. The 1890 Business Directory states that James Armstrong and Company owned the cotton mill. It operated until about 1900 when the operation moved to Charlottesville.

The Magruders built a large brick house near the Rivanna now called “Cumber.” It has been restored by Mr. and Mrs. James T. Griffin, present owners. The Timberlakes built a handsome brick house near the mills after

✓ their marriage. It was later called "Union Hall." In recent years. Capt. Charles Irving of Union Hall moved some of the tremendous stones of the early lock and built gates to his driveway. The Union is now the property of Dean B. F. D. Runk and his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Kayan.

The remains of the old dam and mills and other buildings are still there near the River. The general store foundations tell of a building about 30 by 50 feet. The factory, a two-story brick building with a tower at one corner, was taken down about 1937. If you "look sharp," the stone walls of the barracks can still be seen from the old Stagecoach Road in winter when they are gilded white with snow.

Palmyra Mills

The first mill on the Rivanna at Palmyra was built as early as 1813, the first dams a bit upstream of the present remnants of a crib dam. At one time, after the covered bridge was built in 1829, the dam rested against the huge stone piers. The mill was owned and operated by the Timberlake family, who were prominent in county life—ministers, lawyers and county officials.

An account book of Palmyra Mills of 1843 records sales of fine flour (3 cents a pound), superfine flour (\$5.50 a barrel), bran, middlings, shorts, and shipstuff. They ground white wheat, red wheat, and corn, and in August 1843 over 500 barrels of flour were shipped down the Rivanna.

Also, river boats brought the gypsum-limestone to Palmyra to be pulverized and sold as "ground plaster," as a soil conditioner. In March 1844 the mill ground and sold 49,371 pounds of ground plaster. In April they sold a total of 44,269 pounds.

Walker Timberlake maintained a busy wharf near his tall mill house and it was he who supervised the building of the beautiful stone lock at the end of his dam. One deed best illustrates the bustle around his mill: In 1826 Timberlake and his wife Sarah gave Robert S. Jones permission to erect on Timberlake's land "on the margin of his mill-tail-race a workshop in which said Jones contemplates working at his trades of carpenter and willwright and other mechanical trades to run by water." Jones wished to conduct water from the "foreba" of Timberlake's milldam by means of a trunk or conveyor to the shop. However, he could use water only when there was enough left over from operating the mill. Timberlake allowed him to have his workshop between the public road, the mill race, the Rivanna and the coopers shop, and allowed him a road from his home to his shop, the roading following the Stillhouse Branch. He expressly forbade Jones to "keep a store, a grocery, or any kind of Tavern" —

probably because the Timberlake family already had stores and a tavern.

Diaries state that the Yankees burned the Palmyra Mill in April 1865, but we presume it was rebuilt, for a brick and stone mill stood until after 1940. The rock portion remains today. It had an interesting corner fireplace and the two-piece "Dutch doors" typical of mills.

Carysbrook Plantation Mill

According to records, Carysbrook milldam was one of those dams built primarily to improve the Rivanna navigation system. In June 1850 a dam was planned, seven feet above the usual water level. In a deed of 1853 the Rivanna Navigation Company, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, President, paid John Randolph Bryan for damages to land flooded and gave Bryan permission to erect a mill and use water from the millpond.

Old paintings of the mill show a shining waterfall pouring over the dam. There are huge stones in the dam abutments, and here can be seen the remains of the wooden crib dam which was built of heartpine, held together with wooden pegs, and filled with rock and dirt. The sloping front of the dam was covered with plank to make it more watertight. How did they control the flow of water while they built these crib dams, without the aid of modern machinery and equipment? The remains of these dams can be seen at most millsites, symbols of native ingenuity.

John Randolph Bryan was well known for his generosity to the Confederate cause, and one notation states, "1½ Bus. Meal to family, 2 children died in ten days past & other 3 sick. Father home on furlough." Carysbrook Mill, like many others in Fluvanna, was not destroyed during the Civil War. (A directory of 1868 lists 22 mills still operating in the county.)

De Kingfish: Rivanna Mills

Rivanna Mills was once one of the most valuable properties in Fluvanna—in 1888 five roads converged on the mills on the banks of the Rivanna, five miles above Columbia. If one follows the old Bryant Ford Road to the River today and listens to the roar of the water as it thrashes through the shattered dam, above the boom he may think he hears echoes from the past: the thunder of falling water, the rumble of machinery in the mills, the ringing of hammers in the shops, the whistle of an approaching boat, and the stamping and snorting of the waiting teams.

People from all over the county flocked to this commercial center; from the Stagecoach Road they came in wagons and buggies, by river on packet or freight boat, and through the woods or up the towpath bestride

a mule or blooded mare. The center included the grist mill, flour mill, large store, cobbler's shop, cooper's shop, lumber house, tobacco barn for storage and shipment, and, at one time a post office called Stillman's.

Rivanna Mills has been a correlating thread running through the research on mills in Fluvanna. Just so, Rivanna Mills in its hey-day was a pipeline of industry threading its way into the commercial and agricultural life of the county; and by supplying the needs of the home and serving as a port of embarkation and transportation, the thriving center threaded itself into the very warp and woof of Fluvanna life.

In documents the property was always called Rivanna Mills, but to the local people it was known as Ashlin's Mill, Stillman's Mill, and Rison's Mill, according to the successive operators.

John Ashlin (1762-1823) first received permission to dam the Rivanna to operate a mill in 1809. He built up a fine estate of farms, store and mills. From the operation of the lock for the Navigation Company, and from the boats and boatmen on the River, he received additional income. Tolls from the boats travelling on the Rivanna were collected at Rivanna Mills. The River also made possible a large export of wheat and flour, very profitable because Virginia flour then had a monopoly on the South American market.

Mr. Ashlin was devoted to his orphan nephew, Robert, but he did not think it wise to leave so large a property in the hands of such a young man. He had met Mr. George Stillman in Richmond, and being much impressed with Stillman's character and ability, he proposed to make Stillman joint heir, with Robert, to all his property. Mr. Stillman declined the proposition but was willing to act as managing agent or steward. "Though young," wrote Col. Robert Ashlin's son-in-law, "Robert saw the wisdom of the proposed partnership and prevailed upon Mr. Stillman to accept it." They soon took Mr. Stillman's brother, Samuel, into the business. For 45 years, under these three men, this large and various business went on to prosper, "without one word of serious difference."

Each man took special oversight of one particular branch—one the farm, another the mills, and the other the store. Meticulously kept account books for the flour and grist mills, store, blacksmith shop, etc., span many years, the names of clients throughout Fluvanna handwritten with beautiful Spencerian flourishes.

The account books for the mills, store, blacksmith shop and cooper's shop make interesting reading. One entry: On Christmas Eve, 1858, a fond father bought daughter Fanny a new pair of calf shoes at \$2.85, and paid her fare by packet boat to Manakin's Ferry on the James River Canal, \$1.50. The average pay for tending the locks and collecting the tolls was

\$75 a quarter. Tolls collected in 1860 averaged about \$250 a month; in 1864 they averaged \$1400. The inflation of the Civil War years is reflected in the accounts on navigation tolls, the sales of cloth, potatoes and other foods, flour and corn. The cooper's shop did a big business during the war, the prices of barrels, staves and nails steadily rising. The accounts bring to mind items no longer used: Yoke for oxen, single trees, calico, "porcelane" buttons, lamp chimneys, coffee beans and assafetida.

The descendants of Col. Robert Ashlin have generously shown us pictures, letters and documents which vividly tell of life at Rivanna Mills. Col. Ashlin built a beautiful home, Rivanna Hall, overlooking the mills, millpond, lock and boat basin, and there he and his family, many relatives, and the Stillman brothers lived. When the house was taken down, folks say the fine flooring went to Colonial Williamsburg. The timbers of the house were used to build a house in Louisa.

No village grew up around Rivanna Mills, but the large household, for the most part self-sustaining, required a variety of buildings—a family village. Besides the commercial buildings already listed, there were the miller's house, two other cottages, the office building, well-house, stables, carriage house, smoke house, ice house, corn crib and other barns for hay and machines.

Plats of the 1840's show the old dam and the early lock, and the new dam, lock and boat basin built around 1850. Some of the most beautiful stonework in Virginia can be seen at Rivanna Mills lock and dam and on the canal leading to Columbia. Some of the stones were quarried from the bluffs upstream at Buzzard's Rock and holes of the drillers can still be seen on giant boulders. Part of the stone was beautifully dressed, such as those blocks used to outline the eye or "forebay" in the dam. This opening in the dam was opened by lifting a gate whenever water was needed for grinding. A canal or race carried the water to the mills where it poured between the flour mill and grist mill to set the machinery in motion.

Wooden machinery gave way to metal and by 1905 the flour mill had a Victory 18-inch wheel in an iron cylinder and a Wolf system of 30-barrel capacity. The corn mill had a 36-inch Crowell wheel installed in a wooden penstock. The mills continued to operate until about World War I.

George Stillman was a distinguished citizen, a magistrate, who represented Fluvanna in the General Assembly. He was instrumental in forming laws in 1828 for improvement of the Rivanna Navigation Company, and tried to settle the feuds for available water which often flared between the mill owners and the Navigation Company.

Though born a Yankee, he became a dedicated Southerner and supported the Confederacy by buying bonds and in other ways. A receipt

for 420 pounds of corn is dated January 26, 1864 and states "on account of Tax in Kind...for the year 1863," and is signed by "Capt. R. W. Gaillard, Ass't Collector of tax in kind, for A. P. Hill Corps." But this did not spare the Ashlin's and Stillman's when Yankee raiders came. Though they did not burn the mills, the soldiers took supplies, and an Ashlin descendant tells that the flour and molasses they did not take they threw on the ground to mix with pillow feathers, a typical raider pudding.

The Stillman brothers never married, but evidently they were dearly loved by the Ashlin children. A little book given to the Museum by Mrs. "Willie Ashlin" Wyatt is lovingly inscribed to Wilhemina Ashlin from Samuel Stillman, and Wilhemina returned to Rivanna Hall to nurse the two men in their old age. She and her brothers and sisters named their children for the Stillman brothers and the name is still given descendants.

Is it possible to learn to love a man who has been dead one hundred years? Our introduction to George Stillman was made by an imposing tombstone flanked by blue-eyed periwinkle and green boxwood, enclosed by a wall of mellowed rosy brick, not far from the mills. The epitaph for George especially intrigued us. From local people and Ashlin descendants we learned about him. Such a fascinating man! Tracts, letters and memoirs tell of his integrity, his tolerance, his wisdom and kindness, his intellectual interests and business acumen. Finally into our hands Mrs. Proctor (nee Rison) laid a daguerrotype in a most handsome gold and ebony case. There sat George Stillman in his beautiful brocaded vest and black coat, silver-haired and erect, one hand resting on his gold-headed cane — a handsome, dignified old gentleman. But his tombstone had really told it all at our first meeting:

In Memory of
George Stillman

He was born in Machias, Me., Nov. 13, 1788. Moved to Richmond, Virginia in 1810, served in the War of 1812, settled in Fluvanna County in 1815, was a magistrate 30 years, and a member of the Legislature 13 years.

Died June 28, 1868, honored for his moral worth and virtues. He was a son of Gen. George Stillman of the Continental Army of the Revolution.

On the reverse side of the stone is an inscription for George's brother:

Samuel Stillman
was born Dec. 4, 1795
and died Aug. 7, 1874

In connection with his brother George and Col. Robt. W. Ashlin, he conducted a mercantile business for more than 45

years at Rivanna Mills and inspired and retained the confidence and respect of all men.

Bricks from the flour mill were taken to Palmyra to build the present School Board office, but the stone basement and foundations of the 40 by 35-foot flour mill still stand, its walls four feet thick. A gently curving stone wall connects the mill to the beautiful stone dam. Spring is the time to walk through the white violets that line the lock to sit on the high dam above the roaring water as it tumbles through rock and broken timbers. That is the spot for dreaming and reading Samuel Stillman's "weather diary:"

Tuesday, 66°, wind S.W., Fair — This morning the peach trees on the island are in bloom and the redbud can be seen on the hill.

Thursday, 42°, N.E., Cloudy — Today the packet boat came to the landing and returned. . .

Saturday, 55°, N.E., Rainy — Two days of steady rainfall — The River is rising. . .

FOOTNOTES

¹William Alexander Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee*, copyright 1941, Alfred A. Knoff, Inc., New York

²From "John Hartwell Cocke of Bremono. . ." by M. Boyd Coyner, Jr.

³Edward P. Hamilton, *The Village Mill in Early New England*, Old Sturbridge Village Booklet Series, Sturbridge, Massachusetts.

Names of members omitted in Bulletin No. 9

Mrs. Janie Rhodes Bowles, Thomasville, N. C.
Mrs. William Ronald Cocke, III, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Charles D. Drummond, Richmond, Va.
Mr. Chester Jennings, Palmyra, Va.
Mrs. Harry Loving, Palmyra, Va.
Mrs. T. Kent Loving, Palmyra, Va.
Mrs. Richard T. Morenus, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. W. S. Scott, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Hollis Pettit Snead, Sr., Great Falls, S. C.
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The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

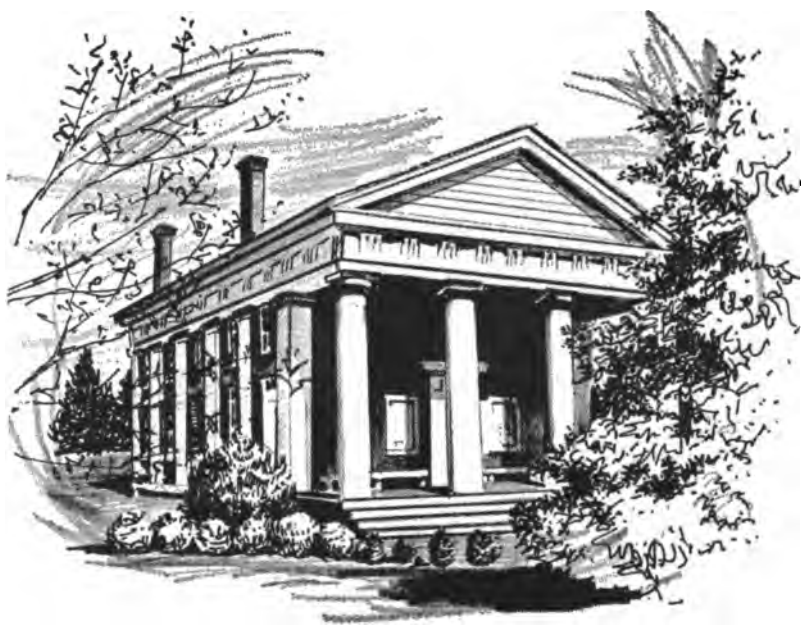
Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$2.00; a life membership costs \$50.00. A bulletin is published twice a year, distributed to members free of charge. Copies can be purchased for \$2.00 single copy, \$3.00 double copy. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: Mrs. Henry C. McGehee, Chairman of Publications, Fluvanna County Historical Society, Box 132, Palmyra, Virginia.

The Bulletin of the
FLUVANNA COUNTY
Historical Society

Number 12

April 1971



COURT HOUSE, PALMYRA, VIRGINIA

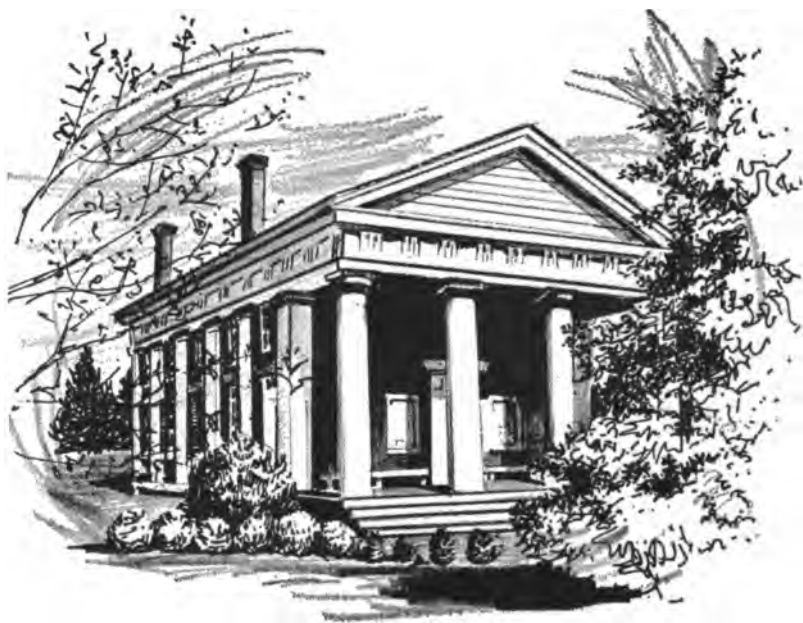
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n: 73

HIGHWAYS AND BY-WAYS OF FLUVANNA COUNTY

Highways and By-Ways of Fluvanna County	5
The Secretary's Road	8
The Martin King Road	9
The Marquis' Road	10
Bybee's Road	11
The Columbia Road	11
The Woodson Road — Venable's Road	12
The Mountain Road, Route No. 53	13
The Stage Coach Road	13
The Three Notched Road	17
The White Hall Road	19
The Bryant Ford Road	20
The River Road	21
The Cocke Road	23
The James Madison Highway	24

THE HIGHWAYS AND BY-WAYS OF FLUVANNA COUNTY

In 1634, the Colony of Virginia was divided into eight shires, of which Henrico was the most distant from Jamestown. Later, following the English custom, counties were formed as the need arose, i.e., to suit the convenience of the inhabitants in the area. Ultimately, the county became the basic unit of local government in Virginia.

The county of Henrico in the early days spread along both sides of the James River; in 1728, that part of the county lying above the James was divided by "a line beginning at the mouth of Tuckahoe Creek, thence up the said creek to Chumley's Branch, thence along a line of Marked Trees, North Twenty degrees East, to Hanover County. That part of the County lying above the said line shall be called and known by the name of Goochland County." (Act of March 6, 1727) Goochland was named for Sir William Gooch., Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia from September 8, 1727 to June 30, 1749.

The land in the western part of Goochland was settled rapidly, and in time the people, finding the inconvenience of attending court at Goochland unreasonable, petitioned for the formation of a new county. The Act establishing Albemarle County was passed by the General Assembly in September, 1744.

The line of division was from the Point of Fork of the James River, north thirty degrees east to the Louisa line, and from the same point in a direct line to Brook's Mill, below the James. This land area covered a large section of Virginia, obviously.

Although the courthouse for the new county was erected at Scott's Ferry (Scottsville), about twenty years later Charlottesville became the county seat. This worked a hardship on the inhabitants in the lower part of the county by adding many miles to necessary trips to and from court.

In time the people petitioned for relief; an Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia divided the county of Albemarle by a line drawn from the most western part of Louisa County to the lower edge of Scott's Ferry, the part of Albemarle below the line becoming a new county called Fluvanna. In addition, the Act of July 1, 1777 provided that a part of the parishes of St. Anne's and Fredericksville lying in the area of the new county should be formed into a parish called Fluvanna Parish.

The main argument advanced for the formation of the county of Fluvanna centered around the roads, which were bad in summer and worse in winter, a situation comparable to the conditions in Tidewater Virginia a century before. Mrs. Annie Lee Jester gives an eloquent description in her *Domestic Life In Virginia*, from which the

following is quoted verbatim:

In the latter half of the century (1650-1700), travel by horseback to centers to attend funerals, or to visit friends, if not too far distant, became popular, especially as horses bred in the country had multiplied . . . The absence of vehicles, except for a coach, a calabash, or a cart was due perhaps not so much to cost and to the necessity for importing them as to the complete lack of passable roads in the Colony. Cartways, which were the worn and widened Indian trails over which oxen hauled heavy loads, were open ways over which travel by land could be undertaken. The bodies of the carts were made in the colony usually, and attached to wheels imported from England.

The Indian, long before the days of Columbus, made his way through the forest to various Indian towns, and the footpaths over which he trod served his purposes and brought him to his desired destinations. The footpaths in time became horse paths of the early settlers, paths which led from the scattered cabins to the churches, the courthouses, or other public meeting places. Oftimes these were simply by-paths that led from one plantation to another, or to a store or mill within a few miles of the planter's home.

As the settlements increased, the common necessity for travel to the places of meeting focused the attention of the planters on a need for roads; among the early entries in the vestry books of the seventeenth century were the appointments of surveyors for certain roads and the assignments of male tithables to work the roads and keep them in repair. These provisions for improving the roads engaged the whole community as the need for travel to meeting centers continued to grow. Often these specified roads led to a new mill or a warehouse recently erected within the parish. It was a slow and tedious improvement that has been extended to the present day. Roads did not happen; they served a definite purpose—they led to a destination.

It was during the time that Goochland County included Fluvanna of today that the General Assembly recognized the need for laws providing for the development of roads and their repair. An Act was passed in November, 1738 which gave the county courts authority "to appoint surveyors of the several roads within a county, and to erect signs at the cross roads or where the highways meet, at the most convenient place, a stone marker or post with inscriptions thereon in large letters, directing travellers to the most noted place to which the said roads lead." It also gave the surveyor the right to use any tree or wood or stone from adjacent lands for making and setting up such sign posts. (There is a place in Fluvanna near the junction of Routes No. 626 and No. 696 known as "The Signboard"

for well over a century. Could "The Signboard" have been a marker on the early road connecting the courthouses of Fluvanna and Louisa?)

The county court was also given the authority to keep the roads in repair, and the General Assembly did not forget to fix a penalty of five shillings if the surveyor was negligent or failed to perform his duties.

The keeper of a mill was required by an earlier act in 1736 to see that the milldams were ten feet wide. This act directed that rails should be put up on each side of the bridge over a dam's flood gates which, in case of freshets, would relieve the keeper of a penalty. It seems the dam was used as a bridge, an improvement over the fords.

Ten years later, in October 1748, the General Assembly passed a new law concerning the roads of the Colony. The new act provided that the county court have the power to alter roads, to open new roads for passing to and from the city of Williamsburg to the courthouse in every county, to the parish churches, and to all public mills and ferries. It gave authority to have the roads cleared "for thirty feet broad at the least," and it provided for the extension of roads into counties adjoining and for building and maintaining bridges. The roadways over the milldams were widened two feet at the top to twelve feet and were railed; sign posts were erected at the cross-roads, maintained, and kept in repair. Penalties were set for failure to comply with the provisions of the law.

Laws controlling the roads in the Fluvanna County area were administered by the county of Albemarle from 1744 to 1777, and before that by the court of Goochland County, from 1727 to 1744, a fact which in part accounts for the neglected state of the roads in the area. The major part of the early road work took place during the time Fluvanna was part of Albemarle; records of Albemarle County would prove this if they were extant, for the court was responsible for viewing ways for roads, opening roads approved, and appointing surveyors and tithables to care for the roads, when once established.

At the first court held for the county of Fluvanna at the house of Thomas Napier below Palmyra in August, 1777, near the site of the first courthouse, the court approved the surveyors of the roads in the county, who had been approved previously by the court of Albemarle. Albemarle had appointed Commissioners to view a road leading from Fork Ferry to Louisa Courthouse; the Fluvanna Court reviewed the order, approved it, and ordered the road opened and established for the public.

At the second court Benjamin Martin requested the court to open a road "from the Old Road near Mrs. Lyle's (Wilmington) along a

path leading by Elias Wills (Chatham Plantation) to Amos' Falls on the North River (Rivanna), and from thence along another path to the Fork Road near the millpath of Wilson Miles Cary, Gent." (Records indicate his mill was on Cary's Creek.)

Certainly, court orders such as this confirm the fact that the one-time foot paths were converted into roads by order of the court.

The Secretary's Road

The Secretary Road took its name from the Secretary of the Council of Colonial Virginia, the Honorable John Carter, son of Robert Carter (King Carter) of Corrotoman, who in the early days of Goochland was granted a large tract of land about "Carter's Mountain" on the branches of the Hardware River (Albemarle County). Parts of the tract became large estates such as Blenheim and Redlands. John Carter was Secretary of the Council from 1721 until his death in 1742 at his residence, Shirley, in Charles City County.

Also from John Carter came the name of Secretary's Ford and Secretary's Mill. He never lived in this area, but developed the land and farmed it as Quarters.

The road designated as the Secretary's Road was also referred to as "the Secretary's Rolling Road." The first roads were built to get the tobacco to market, tobacco being the main source of revenue. The round hogsheads of tobacco were rolled to market either by slaves or by equipping the hogsheads with axles so they could be drawn by oxen.

From Carter's Mill on the north fork of the Hardware River, the Secretary Road ran in a southeasterly direction along the north side of the Hardware to Woodridge, and from there followed the ridge between the Rivanna and Hardware Rivers to Bremo on the James River. It was also called the Bremo Road.

The route of the Secretary Road can be traced on old land plats on record in Albemarle. An interesting plat, dated 1755, for land of Joseph Fitzpatrick "on the branches of the Hardware River and Buck Island Creek," shows the junction of several roads similar to the junction at Woodridge today. The plat shows the junction of the Martin King Road, the "Bremo or the Secretary Road," "Colo. Jefferson's Road," and "Anthony's Road."

Today the Secretary's Road enters Fluvanna County near Antioch and follows Route No. 620, until it enters Route No. 6 (the old Scottsville-Columbia Road) at Kidd's Store, close to where the old Lambeth Tavern stood. There is nothing left here to indicate that

an ordinary ever stood on this site, but a lone gravestone for a member of the Kidd Family may be seen in the graveyard near the road. The Lambeth Tavern is described as a gray ghost of a building, which had not been used for years. It was pleasing to Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Reed, and they purchased it and moved it to their home at Sabot on the James River in Goochland County where it was rebuilt and tastefully restored.

There are several places of interest along this road after it enters Fluvanna. The Antioch Baptist Church is an important building in the community, and farther down is the Wesley Chapel, which was an outgrowth of Goodman's Chapel, probably named for old Parson Goodman. The old Browning home is also on this road.

Traditionally, an attempt to mine magnesium was once made on the Cleveland farm not far from the road near Kidd's store, but it was of such poor quality that it proved unprofitable to the operators and folded in a short time.

The Martin King Road

The Martin King Road is one of the oldest roads in the County. After its junction with the Secretary's Road in Albemarle, it ran to the east. Today this road can be traced near the course of Route No. 618 from the county line to the Rivanna River. After crossing the Rivanna, traces can be seen in field and woods along the general course of Route No. 600 in the direction of Louisa. The road once stopped at the county line near Zion Cross Roads, but Fry and Lynch applied to the Louisa Court, and the road was continued to Louisa Courthouse.

A plat of 1793 clearly shows the Martin King Road fording the Rivanna downstream of the site of the Union Mills dam. (It was this ford that Lafayette and his men used going from the campsite on Mechunk Creek to Barnardsburg.) Later, when Barnardsburg became a town, a new crossing was made a few miles down the river. Still later, when Union Mills became a thriving place, another crossing was made upstream, just below the dam on the river. Today, both the Union Mills crossing and the Martin King Ford (on the Ivanhoe Morris farm) are abandoned, and the bridge at old Barnardsburg is called Crofton. Here at Crofton is the dam for the new Lake Monticello.

The identity of Martin King for whom the road took its name has passed into the limbo of forgotten things, but Woods says in his *History of Albemarle County*, that the Court was mindful of its own dignity and for some form of misbehaviour in its presence, not mentioned, the said Martin King was ordered into custody and bound

over for a year. At the same time his son, Martin King, Jr., and James Fenley were placed in stocks

Many Albemarle plats of land now included in Fluvanna show the Martin King Road as early as 1755. And in 1748, a patent was issued to the Burnleys for a grant, a tract of land containing 5,000 acres, lying on the North River (Rivanna) and Hardware River and on both sides of Bremuesh (sic) and Martin King Road in Albemarle County.

The area now called Crofton was formerly the chartered town of Barnardsburg, which was incorporated in 1796. The second state warehouse for the inspection of tobacco in the county opened here, and the town became a considerable center of trade. The militia had a parade ground; there was a jail—and a gallows tree, which added eerie atmosphere, if no more. It was to this place that Lafayette moved his army to put an end to the British incursions in 1781.

The Martin King Road is a good illustration of the fact that the routes of early roads were changed frequently to meet the needs of the community. Demands for new or better roads continue to this day, but the wider divided highways, and the earth-moving, earth-shaking equipment, combine to make a new road a mixed blessing.

The Marquis Road

The road long known as the Marquis' Road began at Old Raccoon Ford, where it crossed the Rapidan River into Orange County and ran across Orange to Brock's Bridge over the North Anna River into Louisa County. It then passed through the upper end of Louisa and entered Fluvanna a few miles west of Boswell's Tavern; here a new road was cut through the woods by French Engineers, and it led to Allegre's on the Three Notched Road and Mechunk Creek. This was a new road to Mechunk Creek which was named in honor of the Marquis. It was this road to which William C. Rives alluded in his address to General Lafayette at the county line on his visit in 1824.

As Lafayette moved through Orange, Louisa and Fluvanna, he was joined by the forces of General Anthony Wayne and other Continental forces. Old traditions hold that Lafayette and the troops camped one night at Boswell's Tavern, one night near Allegre's Tavern, and one night at Barnardsburg as they gathered forces to march to Yorktown.

During the summer of 1781 the roads of Fluvanna were used by both armies in bits of major strategy involving Charlottesville and the Arsenal at Point of Fork. Lafayette's route from Barnardsburg eastward is not recorded, but some of the Continental forces must have travelled the Three Notched Road for one soldier reported

that the route he travelled was very dry and dusty, and there were no streams crossing the way, which suggests that he was on the Three Notched Road. Tarleton's route to join Simcoe is not certain. He was a tempestuous man, and was distraught at his failure to capture the General Assembly. His anxiety and confused state of mind are evident in a report that he made to Cornwallis:

"I believe that Lafayette passed the South Anna or Pamunkey this morning for the Old Mountain Road at Bird's Ordinary. He lay at Bird's Mill yesterday evening. I have been on the Three Notched Road all day. I shall strike again tomorrow morning and go to Napier's or Pier's Mill. I cannot learn what water it stands on."

It does not appear that Tarleton was posted on the whereabouts of Lafayette or the geography of Fluvanna and Louisa counties.

Bybee's Road

Today Route No. 613 follows the early road called "Bibee's" which led from the Courthouse Road, past Bibee's Race Ground, to the Three Notched Road on the eastern side of the county. This road passed Flanagan's Mill and today it leads to Bybees Road Church and Bybee store and post office. The settlement around the store included a school called Center Hill.

It is rather strange that a race track and a Baptist Church should both have been named for the same family, but history reveals many odd frailties that only the genus *homo sapiens* can provide.

In December, 1777, the Court ordered that the hands of George Thompson, Gent., be added to "the company under John Buckley, overseer of the Road from Bibee's Race Ground to the Three Notched Road." In 1779 John Alloway Strange was appointed surveyor of this road, from Napier's Ford (Courthouse) to Bibee's Race Grounds, which undoubtedly was the place where races were then run, and John Martin was named surveyor of the road from the Race Ground to the Three Notched Road in the room of John Bickley.

Near the junction of the two roads stood a large blacksmith shop presided over by Captain Bill Diggs. This was a busy smithy, a shop of sturdy build, a popular gathering place for the men of the neighborhood when the raceground had faded into history.

The Columbia Road

The Columbia Road from Louisa entered Fluvanna County at present-day Ferncliff and passed in a southerly direction parallel to

Venable and Byrd Creeks, similar in pattern to the present Route No. 659.

This road passed the junction once called Jordan's Store, and then at Kents Store it crossed Venable Road and continued due south to cross the White Hall Road. After crossing a branch of the Byrd Creek, it ran parallel to a section of present Route No. 604, crossed the Big Byrd and came to today's Route No. 602. There was a covered bridge over the Byrd at Greenwood Plantation until the flood of August, 1928. Sections of this old Columbia Road are abandoned today. It joined the Stage Coach Road at Stage Junction.

Writing in 1795-1797, a traveller described his adventures as he rode his horse northward on this road. He related his experience with lightning bugs; there were so many he found their light misleading. He described the way as lonely and through a pine forest. He was on his way to the Green Spring in Louisa where he spent the night at a tavern; next day he pursued his way onward to the Southwest Mountains.

Woodson's Road—Venable Road

Another very early road that threaded its way through the wooded hills of Fluvanna was the Woodson's Road. Yellowed plats on record in Albemarle show the Woodson's Road in 1755 in the area of Wilmington. We do not know where it crossed the Rivanna, but a plat of the same year shows it crossing the branches of Cary's Creek. Later the road crossed the Rivanna at Napier's Ford at the old Courthouse and passed southeast to Carysbrook. A court order of 1779 appointed Alexander Moss surveyor of the road leading from Lyle's to the county line (Louisa) called Woodson's Road.

Later, Venable's Road must have taken the place of Woodson's. The present Route No. 601 has been called the Venable Road for many years; it is evident that it is a continuation of Venable's Road in Louisa County, a road which ran from the vicinity of Yanceyville on the South Anna River where Abraham Venable had a large tract of land, across the Three Notched Road, thence into Fluvanna County in the manner of the present road to Wilmington.

Abraham Venable, a member of the first Commission of Justices for the County of Louisa in 1742, was in the same year elected Burgess to the General Assembly, a position he held for several years. There appears to be little doubt that this family had land in Fluvanna and gave Venable Creek its name; this creek originates in the eastern part of the county.

On this road stood the Hughes Meeting House, later Byrd Chapel, and a branch of this road must have led to old Bowlesville, the first

post office for this section of the county.

On its way to Kents Store the Venable Road passed the mineral springs which were patronized by the older generations. The biggest spring is at the home of Mr. Hughes Holland, whose place has been long known as Mineral Springs.

The Mountain Road, Route No. 53

In October, 1777 the new county court ordered a Mr. Fitzpatrick, John Napier, Gent., Henry Haislip, and Rainy Woodson to view a way for "a road from the Place where the County line crosses the Secretary Road to the place agreed on for the Courthouse." This road could have connected the Cunningham neighborhood to the county seat. When the Cunningham settlement grew, a road to connect with the Old Martin King Road (near Nahor) became necessary, and this was doubtless the beginnings of Route No. 53, a road parallel to the Rivanna on the west side. The Old Stage Road had long been a thoroughfare on the east side.

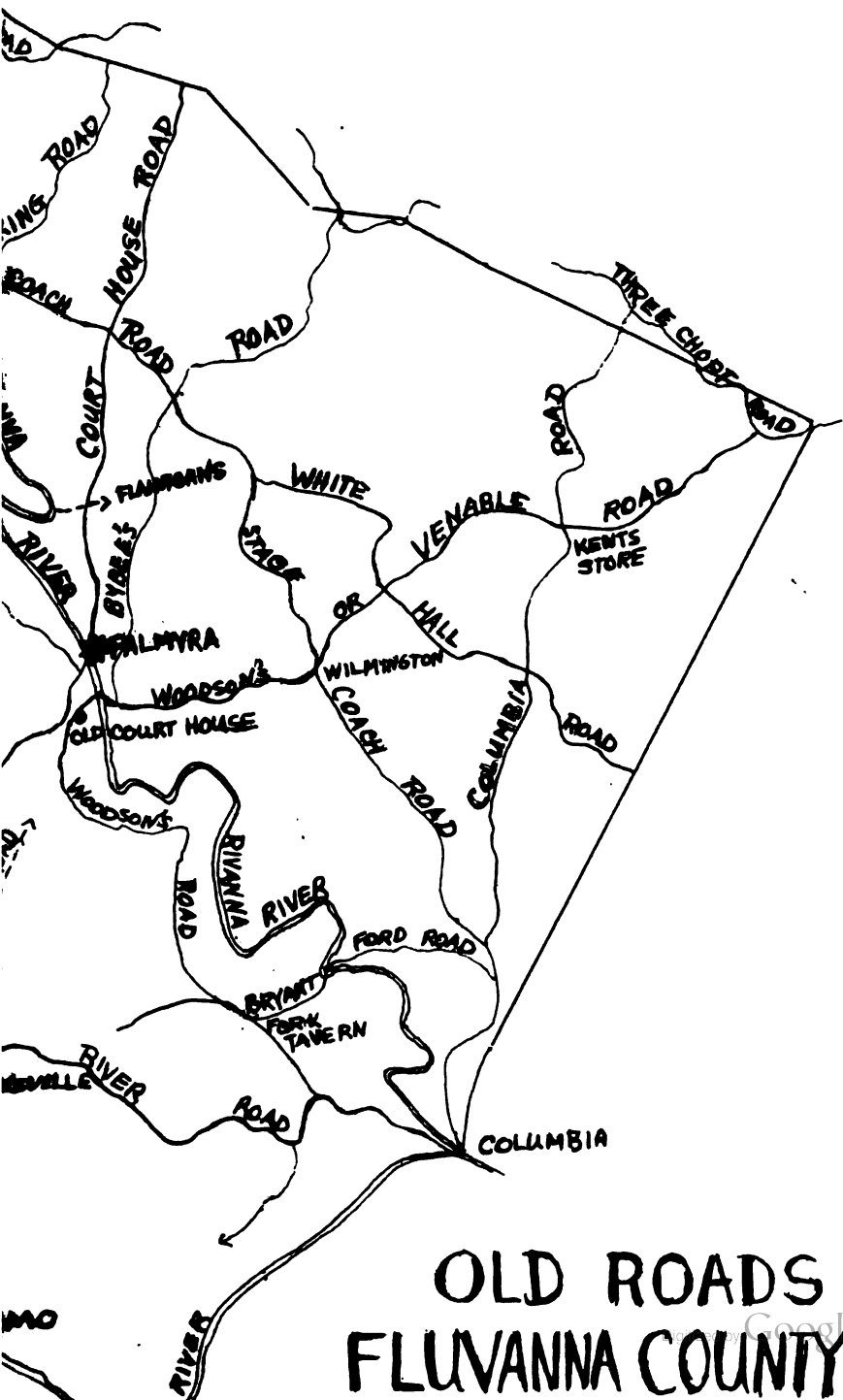
Court minutes of 1778 reveal more plans for early roads on the branches of the Cunningham Creek. In August the court received a report on a way viewed from the Albemarle County line, down by Fitzpatrick's Mill, to the place fixed upon for a courthouse.

In September the road was divided into three segments. Richard Napier, Gent., was appointed to survey the road from "where Capt. Napier's Road turns out of the Courthouse Road, continuing up the Ridge to Richard Burton Payne's Land on the South Fork of Cunningham Creek." John Hancock was appointed surveyor from Payne's land to Joseph Fitzpatrick's Mill Creek, and Robert Right (sic) was surveyor from there to the county line.

There is no record to prove the statement, but it seems most likely that Col. Tarleton took a road on the west side of the Rivanna when he returned from his raid to Charlottesville, for it is the most direct and follows the ridge below the Rivanna in the direction of the point.

The Stage Coach Road

The Stage Coach Road was the route over which passenger coaches moved by stages from the east to Columbia, through the county to Charlottesville and westward. The present secondary roads follow its general route through Fluvanna, starting on Route No. 659 from Columbia to Johnston's Store (Shepherd's Store), then on Route No. 608 to Route No. 613. The section across Ballenger Creek is abandoned, but Route No. 616 again follows it past old



Union Mills to the Albemarle County line.

The stage coaches made regular stops at places along the route to change teams and allow the passengers to rest and secure refreshments at the various hostleries. After leaving Columbia, the first stop was at Weavers Tavern at Stage Junction, thence to Wilmington, a place blessed with two taverns, still standing today. Large stables maintained here allowed the coaches to change horses and secure a fresh team before continuing their journeys.

Some accounts place Linsey's Ordinary near the old Evergreen School above Wilmington. The next big stop was the Rising Sun Tavern at the junction of the old east-west road. Next the travellers came to Morris Tavern near Union Mills, the last stop in Fluvanna. Boyd Tavern stood just over the county line where the road perhaps merged with the Three Chopt Road.

The road followed by the stage was the route over which the Marquis de Lafayette, escorted by the militia, made his way to visit Mr. Jefferson in 1824. General Lafayette, coming to America to visit some of the scenes of his exploits and old friends who had survived the forty-four years following the Revolution, left Richmond on November 2 to visit Monticello.

Late in the afternoon the entourage reached Goochland Courthouse where the General was entertained in the home of Major Isaac Curd. After a dinner in honor of the General, there were speeches and toasts. He spent the night at Goochland and the next morning he resumed his journey.

He arrived at Columbia at two-thirty in the afternoon, where he was met by a company of militia under the command of Col. Joseph Stephen Perkins; he was escorted up the Stage Road, after a big meal at the Columbia Tavern. He stopped at Coles Tavern at Wilmington, which at that time was owned and operated by Horatio Wills.

There was another sumptuous dinner, attended by the elite and a few of the old soldiers. After more toasts and speeches, the guests and the whole company enjoyed a ball and other entertainment at Lyle's Brick Tavern across the road.

The next morning, November 4, the General returned to his place in the coach, which was lent by General Cocke, and the company moved on. In the early afternoon the French General was met at the Albemarle County line by another company of soldiers, the Lafayette Guard under command of Capt. John H. Craven, sent at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson to honor the distinguished guest and to conduct him to Monticello.

It was here, near Boyd's Tavern, that the carriage halted and William C. Rives addressed the General. In the course of his remarks,

he mentioned another road which had been used by the General in 1781, and said that the road was still known as "The Marquis Road"—a name it bears to this day.

The coach in which Lafayette rode the entire length of the Stage Coach Road through the county, a gracious loan from General John H. Cocke of Brems, is today on exhibit at Stratford, the home of the Lees.

The Three Notched Road

An Indian trail which followed the ridge between the South Anna River and the James River was, traditionally, the forerunner of the well-known Three Notched Road, or Three Chopt Road. It is reasonable that it was an Indian trail, for it was a fact that Indians travelled a long way to avoid crossing a stream and getting wet feet; certainly this route was a safe one, for there is hardly a stream across it.

The Three Notched Road got its name from the three blazes, or chops, on the tree trunks along its course to mark its way, and it is believed that the three blazes were marks to represent the three Roman numerals of George III. There were other roads of the period called Three Chopt, and since all the roads were the King's Highways, this marking during the time of George III was probably done to honor the King. One of the earliest records which mentions the Three Notched, or Chopt, Road appears in a patent to one Daniel Harris for land on Camp Creek and the Three Chopt Road in Louisa County in the year 1756.

An Act of the General Assembly passed in 1803 authorized the counties of Louisa and Fluvanna to determine what part the road, commonly called Three Chopt Road, lay in each county; it was designated as "the road from Richmond to Rockfish Gap, called the Three Notched Road." It passed through the main street of Charlottesville and beyond. This Act of 1803 provided for the appointment of overseers and the assignment of hands to work the road and keep it in repair.

Petitions to the General Assembly in 1808 from the inhabitants of the counties along the Three Notched Road asked that it be made a turnpike, in order to keep the travelling public away from development along the James River. It was a century and a half before this dream was realized in the building of the super highway, Interstate 64.

During the colonial period the traveller usually found accommodations with food and lodging about every seven miles along the way. A traveller on horseback rode about twenty-five miles a day, and it

was easy to find three meals at appropriate intervals of time and distance. George Washington, who was one of the great travellers of his time, made an early start in the morning and covered as much as forty miles in a day, but his experience has been rarely duplicated, for he knew the roads, the stopping points, and the ability of his horse as well.

The places for lodging and dining in Virginia during the seventeenth century were not remarkable for lavish entertainment, since the patronage for the most part was men on horseback or on foot. The meals, from reports of travellers, were cold and unappetizing. The drinks were commonly such beverages as ale, rum, brandy and whiskey and mixed drinks such as punch, club, and rarely, Maderia wine, the latter served more frequently in Tidewater. The beds were in keeping with the hostelrys—good, bad and indifferent; however, not all were like the one Chastellux described at Louisa Courthouse as the worst in America.

Route No. 250 took the place of the Three Notched Road as a "big highway", but old Three Notched crosses Route No. 250 and enters Fluvanna County at Goom's Tavern, the home of Mrs. Linwood Payne. This was also known as the Moccasin Gap Tavern, and Parrish's Tavern, for it was operated by the Parrishes for many years. It is not far from the intersection long known as Mocassin Gap.

North of this section of the Three Notched Road (Route No. 653) the county line follows a straight line, but the road passes over into Louisa County until it swings back across the line into Fluvanna again along the present Route No. 607. At Zion Cross Roads the Three Notched Road continues into Louisa, but is close to the county line. It re-enters Fluvanna as Route No. 627, follows present-day Route 250, disappears, and then appears as Route No. 759 at Lafayette Hill, crosses No. 250, and continues to the site of Boyd's Tavern.

Hackney's Tavern stands at the intersection of Route No. 615 and No. 689, just over the county line near Zion Cross Roads on the Three Notched Road. In 1820, this tavern was shown on the map made by Wood as Hackney's Tavern, but it was sometimes called Hackney's Old Stand. The well in the yard was a welcome sight to dusty, thirsty travellers. The stop was later called Halls's Tavern and is today a private residence, the home of Mr. and Mrs. James Martin.

Lindsay's Tavern was also recorded on Wood's Map. William Wrenn conveyed this property by deed dated March 1, 1805, to Robert Lindsay. The early buildings were described as a large house, a carriage house, and a stable of logs. There remains a trace of the cellar where the tavern apparently stood.

Allegre's, as it was commonly called, was the best-known tavern on the Three Notched Road and had its beginning when Giles Allegre was granted a license to operate a tavern by the Court of Albemarle in 1745.

It seems certain that Allegre had purchased land on Mechunk's Creek prior to this time, for he had patented several tracts of land in 1732 when the western land was called Goochland County. Giles Allegre lived among the Huguenots at Manakintown and prospered financially and socially for a time. The first marriage record in the Goochland Register is that of Giles Allegre and Judith Cox, June 27, 1739.

Giles Allegre, the younger, changed the name of the tavern after he served during the Revolution in Lafayette's Army; in honor of the Marquis he called it Lafayette Hill Tavern, for it was here that Lafayette spent a night in June, 1781 while his troops were encamped across the road. There is a story still current that Lafayette found the water from a spring nearby especially palatable; later when he moved his army toward Barnardsburg, he sent a detail back to bring some of the water to him.

The Allegres lived here until 1824, when the property was sold by W. T. Allegre, a descendant of the first owner. Another Allegre, Dan, was mentioned in the records of 1777 when he was appointed surveyor of the Three-Notched Road "from the Louisa line to the Albemarle line, as much as lies within the County of Fluvanna . . . The hands of the sd. Allegre, Anthony Haden, Wm. Howard, James Adams, Thos. Denton, Wm. Denton, George Haggard, and Archd. Napier" were allotted to maintain the road.

A 1777 plat of the land of Giles Allegre reveals the names of other old roads of lesser importance. It shows the junctions of Valentine Wood's Rolling Road and Adams Road with the Three Notched Road. Perhaps the Adams Road was an early version of the Stage Coach Road and led to Adam's land on the Rivanna (at Adam's Falls), later the site of Union Mills.

The White Hall Road

U. S. Geological Survey maps giving "1927 North America datum" clearly define the old White Hall Road across Fluvanna County, Goochland, and Hanover.

It ran with the Stage Coach Road in the northern section of Fluvanna, and then lay parallel to present day Route No. 630 from the Bybee area to the site of Byrd Grove Church. Then it crossed a branch of the Byrd Creek, perhaps at the same place as the Columbia Road. In early days it scaled a rocky cliff above the present bridge,

and it is pleasant to follow this shady old track over the rock ledges, the face of the cliff decked in maiden-hair fern. The White Hall Road entered Goochland almost as Route No. 610 does today, and continued through Goochland to cross the White Hall Creek.

Until recent years a home called White Hall stood facing this road as it neared the Goochland line on "Pea Ridge." Here lived County Surveyor, C. E. Watkins. Not far from his home stood the one-room log school house called White Hall.

This route was a middle road between the Stage Coach Road, River Road and the Three Chopt Road. Many sections have been discontinued, perhaps because it crossed so many streams.

The White Hall Road is identified on Gilmer's war map of 1863 as it crossed the main body of the Byrd Creek and continued eastward. The *Harpers Weekly Magazine* of October 14, 1865 states, "The 'Belzoro' and 'Marks' (gold) mines, which confront each other and are divided by the White Hall Road, are situated only seven miles from Columbia . . ."

The Bryant's Ford Road

An Act of the General Assembly, passed in April 1757, established a crossing for a road over the Rivanna River from the land of John Bryant to the land of Edward Pye Chamberlayne (later site of Rivanna Mills). It followed that this crossing became known as the Bryant's Ford, and the road which crossed here became known as the Bryant's Ford Road.

The Bryant family had been established on their land here prior to 1757 when the legislature established the crossing. Silvanus Bryant was appointed Surveyor of the road from his ford to the Goochland line, and the hands of Samuel Martin, William Martin, Benjamin Martin, and Elias Wills, Gent., were assigned to work on this road.

Later, in December 1777, the Court ordered the "hands of Colo. Cary at his lower plantation on the east side of the River be added to the company under Silvanus Bryant, overseer of the said road from Bryant's Ford to the Goochland County line."

In 1798 the Bryants sold a part of their land to John Ashlin who received permission from the county court in 1809 to build a mill dam on the Rivanna River and erect a mill on his land at this place. As the mills prospered, new roads were opened. A map of 1888 shows three roads, besides the Bryant Ford Road, branching from the Stage Coach Road to converge on Rivanna Mills. (The Mills were also known as Ashlin's, Stillman's, and Rison's Mills.)

To the west of the Rivanna the Bryant Ford Road joined a road from Columbia at Fork Tavern and continued north towards Carys

Creek. In March 1827, the county court appointed Robert W. Ashlin, in the room of John A. Stone, to be surveyor of the road from Bryant's Ford to Gum Creek, from Gum Creek to Liddle's Folly, and on to the Stage Coach Road. The male tithables of Humphrey Belt, Thomas Appleberry, John M. Wills, Miss Sarah Stone, James Currin, Miss Sarah Lewis, Samuel Wood, William Pettit, Jr., Peyton Shelton, Valentine Thomas, George Stillman, Samuel Stillman, Robert W. Ashlin, Carter Chandler, Robert Appleberry and Duncan McRae were required to work the road.

In 1850 when the canal was built from Columbia to the Rivanna Mills, a bridge was built over the canal at the Ford. Later, the canal was bridged below the boat basin to lead to a new bridge over the Rivanna. The remains of this unique water-level bridge can still be seen in the river below the dam.

This low bridge, 16 feet wide with a slanting floor, withstood floods better than the high bridges or the old fords—submerged cribs filled with rocks. Chastain Cocke devised this bridge at the mills, and W. W. White loved to tell of furnishing lumber for a new floor. Cocke built three more of these bridges: at Milton, Union Mills and Barnardsburg. The County paid him \$500 each for his bridges.

A little of the Bryant Ford Road remains in the county road system as Routes 624 and 606. There were several old estates of interest near this road: Meanwell, the home of Joseph Bruce; Fairplay, now owned by a lumber company; and a home called Rose Hill. And where was Liddle's Folly?

The River Road

"The River Road" is still used today, passing through Goochland parallel with the James River, and entering Fluvanna County at Columbia. In its present course, it is designated Route No. 6.

One of the earliest roads to this area must have been a road that followed the James. We know that by the time the Albemarle Courthouse was set at Scotts Ferry, a road must have extended up the river that far and beyond. A 1756 plat shows the River Road on the southern branches of the Hardware, leading to the Courthouse. The Carys, Cockes and other early landowners of this area would have followed the River Road to their upland plantations.

On her first visit to Fluvanna in 1803, Anne Barraud Cocke (wife of General Cocke) found the roads from Richmond to Fluvanna abominable. It was actually necessary to cut a road into the Bremono Plantation to accommodate her four-wheeled carriage. She wrote her mother, "Good heavens, we are so surrounded by woods, that it appears we never can make our escape!"

Court records of Goochland County as early as 1736 show the River Road to Columbia, for the court approved a road leading from the Bird (Creek) to "Mt. Misory," and all the male tithables between these places, and those belonging to Miles Cary, Gent., (Carysbrook) were ordered to work on the road.

Ferries were established over the two rivers at Columbia: the Rivanna, called the North River; and the James, called the Fluvanna River above Columbia. In 1745 the Assembly established a ferry from the lands of James Fenly to the lands of William Cabell; charges were three pence for a man and three pence for a horse.

In March 1779 the Fluvanna Court ordered that "the ferries at Martin Ferry on the James be raised to six times more than they formerly were." In 1780 the rate for James and Rivanna ferries was set at 7/6 for a man and the same for a horse.

Columbia was founded in 1788 by an Act of the General Assembly. Situated at the junction of the rivers, called Point of Fork, the center grew with an increase in travel. The Point of Fork Arsenal, established on the hill called "Mt. Misory" on land of David Ross, supplied the Continental forces and contributed to the development of Columbia. Then in 1785 the Rivanna Warehouse for the state inspection of tobacco was established here, and this brought the tobacco crop from the plantations of a large area. The James River was navigable for small boats and batteaux, and much of the heavy freight was moved down the James to Columbia.

A later land owner in the Point was William Galt, a Scot and a bachelor. He bequeathed his estate to his two nephews, James and William. James built the brick house called Point of Fork not far from the old barracks, and William built a "twin" house several miles up the James River, called Glen Arvon.

After leaving "Mt. Misory" and the river estates, the River Road continued on to Austin Seay's land. According to tradition the road crossed Crooks Creek on his milldam, passed his home, and continued down Tanyard Hill. It was on Seay's land that General John Hartwell Cocke built the Brick Church, which is now part of Fork Union Baptist Church, and from this beginning the community of Fork Union developed around the widely-known Fork Union Military Academy, which was established in 1898 through the energy and perseverance of Dr. William E. Hatcher, Charles G. Snead, and others.

There were places of lodging and entertainment at intervals along the River Road between Columbia and Scottsville. Travellers stopped at Winnsville (west of Fork Union) at the home of Capt. Thomas Winn; there was an ordinary at Central Plains with the unusual name of Frog Ordinary, and Lambeth's Tavern stood at the junction of the

Secretary Road. Between this and the ferry at Scottsville was an ordinary with such a reputation for riotous patronage that it was called "Bledsoe's Onery."

During the late colonial period, and well into the next century, this road was the main route of travel from the upcountry, and over this road the produce of that area passed on its way to market. The sheep were driven in droves, the cattle in herds, and the hogs by the hundreds to the head of navigation for the markets in Tidewater. Traffic diminished with the development of the James River—Kanawha Canal which carried produce on its boats all the way from Buchanan.

The Cocke Road

The Cocke Road was named for General John Hartwell Cocke, a crusader for the betterment of Fluvanna. His road leads from Brémo on the James River to the courthouse at Palmyra.

General Cocke was born on September 19, 1780 in Surry County, son of John Hartwell Cocke and Elizabeth Kennon Cocke. He was graduated from William and Mary College in 1798, served in the war of 1812, and was commissioned General in command of Virginia troops at Camp Carter and Camp Holly.

General Cocke was a great advocate of temperance and served as vice-president of the American Temperance Society; he also was vice-president of the American Colonization Society. He was one of the original members of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia and held that honor from 1819 until 1852.

Amid all his other duties, he became a leading advocate of building improved roads and used his own engineering skill to do so. He was instrumental in building the road which bears his name, and which must have replaced the old New Canton Road. Often his efforts angered people, opposed as they were to cutting roads through their lands and appropriating their hands to do the work.

The grading along the Cocke Road is still visible after a century and a half; it was an unusual feature of roads of that day. He also placed stone mile posts marking each mile. The marker with a figure one chiseled on it is located a mile south of Palmyra, on Route No. 15, which follows the old Cocke Road. Here the ladies of the Fluvanna Garden Club have landscaped a "model mile," and it is marked with a General Cocke milestone at each end of their plantings. The surviving milestones on this road are indeed unique.

The section of the Cocke Road which crossed Little Mountain Hill is abandoned. Near the New Fork Church there were two large stone markers at the intersection. One marker facing south read: "Right to

Columbia/Left to Fluvanna Courthouse." On the back of the stone in large letters was inscribed "J.H.C./O.R./1828." (This marker has been moved.) On the opposite side of the Cocke Road is another tall stone marker with these directions: "To Scottsville/Left to 7 Isles Mills," and on the reverse side, "J.H.C./O.R./1828." We believe "O.R." stands for "Overseer of Roads."

The lower section of the Cocke Road leading to Upper Bremono became a CCC Road in the thirties. There is another marker on this section with points "Right to 7 Isles Mills" and "To New Canton/via Bremono."

Richard Cocke, a century before in 1725, placed a marker in the woodland near this road—where a road may have run in 1725—which bears this legend: "R. C. 1725/ Remove not the/ ancient landmarks/ which thy fathers/ have set. Prov. 22:28."

General Cocke became concerned with roads about 1814, and after this date there are numerous court orders concerning him and road work. In 1821 the court ordered the male tithables to work under Cocke's supervision on the Middleton Mills (Shores) Road and to continue as required for maintenance. The order included the tithables of John G. Hughes, Jesse Hughes, Sr., Jesse Hughes, Jr., Richard Mandley, George Anderson, John Anderson, Benjamin Anderson, John Champion, Minor Winn, Richard McCary, George McCary, Richard B. Payne, Charles Clements, Harris K. Clements, James B. Baltimore, John Winn, John Bryant, Nathan Lowry and John Bashaw.

General Cocke contracted to build a bridge, which he called Temperance Bridge, over the Hardware River on the Scottsville Road; for this work he was paid \$943.62 by the county. Then in 1827 he was named surveyor for the road which later bore his name.

One story about General Cocke's role that has survived in the county involves a toast to that stalwart gentleman. The toaster expressed himself like this: "Here's to the great State of Fluvanna. May she be delivered from sheep-sorrell and the Timberlakes, from the Hession fly and John Hartwell Cocke, and by God's help old 'Flu' will come through all right."

The James Madison Highway

The James Madison Highway (Route No. 15) crosses the county from Zion Cross Roads to the John Hartwell Cocke Bridge over the James River at Bremono. It has taken the place of a succession of early roads that led to the courthouse at Palmyra.

Long before Fluvanna was formed, the building of roads to the courthouse was a law of the land, as shown by acts of the General

Assembly, so that nearly every county seat was the center from which roads radiated to the remote areas.

From Zion Cross Roads to Palmyra, Route No. 15 runs parallel to earlier courthouse roads. In 1775 this north-south road was called "Haden's Road," and on Joseph Thompson's land the "Church Road" joined it. Perhaps the old Broken Back Church stood at this junction. In 1778, on the motion of Turner Richardson, Gent., the court ordered that George Thompson, Gent., Henry Haislip, William Moody, and William Haden view the most convenient way for a road from the Broken Back Church; crossing the North River at the "Said Turner Richardson's Fishing Place" to the road leading to Fork Church. Since this road crossed the Rivanna, it could have been a forerunner of the James Madison Highway, or it could have been an early version of the old Flanagan Road which the 1863 map traces from Flannagan's Landing on the Rivanna to the junction near the site of Broken Back Church.

Another landmark on the old Courthouse Road north of Palmyra was the log Hunter's Lodge. It stood near its successor, the Hunter's Lodge store and service station, but was moved to The Union on Route No. 616.

South of Palmyra the James Madison Highway replaces the old Woodson Road and the later Cocke Road. As far as Dixie, it also replaced the early road that ran from the Old Fork Tavern to the Courthouse. In the minutes of 1777 and 1779 this road is mentioned when Archibald Snead requested a road from the Forks to Fork Ordinary, and from there to the Courthouse.

Route No. 15 from Dixie to Breemo Bluff is a newer road, surveyed after Fork Union grew into a village, drawing traffic from the Old Cocke Road.

When the county was formed, Patrick Woodson lived between Wilson Miles Cary's Carysbrook Plantation and the first courthouse. His deed of 1803 gave part of his land to his son, and mentioned "the Race Paths and the Flooding Spring." Many people still remember the old home on Route No. 15 near Carysbrook called the Race Path House, and recall that the level stretch of road leading past the house was called "the race path." Early deeds refer to "the Race Paths" for boundary purposes, just as they referred to Bibee's Race Ground. Fluvanna had two race tracks!

The north-south routes in Fluvanna have been abandoned, moved, combined, and straightened. There came a day when the James Madison Highway was hard-surfaced, but still the engineers continued to survey and eliminate steep hills and sharp curves. Mr. Madison's Highway became a main thoroughfare for the nation, a main artery for north-south traffic. Then Route No. 1 was improved

to carry those bound for Florida sunshine; in turn it was overshadowed by Interstate 95, and winding, two-lane Route No. 15 became back-country once more, while relentless Time, masquerading as Progress, marches on.

The writer wishes to thank Mrs. Henry C. McGehee and Mrs. Ellis P. Snead, not only for their courtesies while he was visiting Fluvanna, but also for the many notes and records which they made available to him. It would have been an impossible task to do anything with the many roads under study without the knowledgeable help of these ladies.

*Malcolm H. Harris, M.D., President
Louisa County Historical Society*

West Point, Virginia
January 1971

The Fluvanna Historical Society was founded in 1964 to collect and preserve manuscripts and other documents relating to the history of Fluvanna County in Virginia; to maintain the Old Stone Jail at the county seat, Palmyra, as a museum where antiquities of the county may be exhibited; and to encourage historical research.

Meetings of the Society are held three times a year. Annual dues are \$2.00; a life membership costs \$50.00. A bulletin is published twice a year, distributed to members free of charge. Copies can be purchased for \$2.00 single copy, \$3.00 double copy. Readers are requested to contribute any information of historical interest they may have or may be able to obtain. The society will endeavor to publish as much of this information as may be possible.

All communications should be addressed to: Mrs. Henry C. McGehee, Chairman of Publications, Fluvanna County Historical Society, Box 132, Palmyra, Virginia.

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